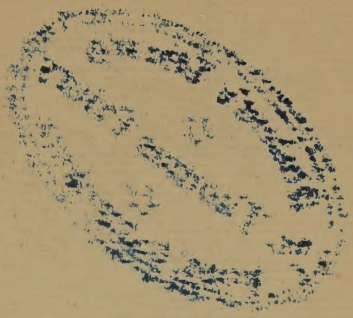

LIFE OF
ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS.

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LIFE

OF

ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS

OF

THE ORDER OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL

BORN A.D. 1542. DIED 1591.

COMPILED, TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

DAVID LEWIS, M.A.,

Author of "The Life of St. Teresa," &c.

LONDON:

THOMAS BAKER, SOHO SQUARE,

1897.

PREFACE.

THE following Life of St. John of the Cross has been compiled from that written by fra Joseph of Jesus and Mary, who entered the order of Carmel in 1595, three years after the death of the saint. Fra Joseph was appointed annalist of the order, and, no doubt, had access to all the papers necessary for his work. But his life of the saint was not regarded with favour by his brethren, and the publication of it took place without the sanction of his superiors, who afterwards deprived him of his charge of annalist. Also from the great chronicle of the order, by fra Francis de Santa Maria; the life written by fra Jerome of St. Joseph, commonly prefixed to the works of St. John of the Cross; from that written by the Padre Marco de San Francisco, in Italian; and from that written by the P. Dosithée de Saint Alexis, in French. Great use has also been made of the life lately written by Don Manuel Muñoz Garnica, Canon of the Cathedral Church of Jaën, and published in that city in the year 1873.

In Festo S. Joannis a Cruce.
A.D. MDCCCLXXXVIII.

Acc: 4621

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LIFE OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS.

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CHAPTER I.

The Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel—St. Simon Stock—The mitigated rule—St. Teresa—Maria de Ocampo—The prior-general of the Carmelites—The reform of St. Teresa—Fra Antonio de Heredia—St. Teresa in Medina del Campo—Fra Juan of St. Mathias.

THE Order of our Lady of Mount Carmel had its beginnings in the east, where, for many generations, it grew and flourished, unknown to the dwellers in the west. From the day of the great prophets Elias and Eliseus—so runs the venerable tradition of Carmel*—the holy mountain was peopled by hermits who, by a life of prayer and penance, according to their measure, shadowed forth, from generation to generation, under the old law, the greater graces of the new.

Hermits of Carmel, sons of the prophets, were among those who heard the forerunner of our Lord in the "desert of Jewry," "preaching the baptism o

* Benedict. xiv. de Festis B.M.V. lib. ii. c. 6. n.i. In eo monte traditio est, adhuc vivæ B. Virgini ædiculam esse extructam a piis quibusdam viris, qui eam noverant, quique Joannis Baptistæ prædicatione Christi adventum satis cognitum habentes, evangelium amplexati quotidie illuc convenire consueverant; ex quo nomen illis inditum fratrum montis Carmeli.

penance unto remission of sins"; and again in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, among those who saw the blessed Apostle standing with the eleven, when "the law came forth from Sion and the word of our Lord from Jerusalem." They were converted to the faith of Christ, and on their return to the holy mountain, raised an oratory in Carmel to the honour of our blessed Lady, whom they had seen in Jerusalem, in the very place where Elias stood when he saw the little cloud coming up from the sea, bringing with it the long-desired rain which God had so long withheld from the earth. The hermits were known for a thousand years after the Passion of our Lord as the brethren of St. Mary of mount Carmel. They had left the world, and were living in caves and in hollows of the rocks, intent on the service of God and their own salvation.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the brethren of Blessed Mary of mount Carmel began to be heard of in Europe. The troubles in the holy land, and the growing weakness of the crusaders, as well as the growing strength of the infidels, forced some of them to depart from Carmel of the sea, and to seek a refuge in more quiet lands. Among these was Ralph Freeborn, a Northumbrian by birth, who had gone to Palestine as a soldier of the cross to fight the Saracens, and who, in Carmel, had laid aside the armour of earthly warfare for the peaceful habit of a

hermit. He returned to Europe with one of his brethren in the company, and under the protection of two Englishmen, lord Vesci and lord Grey of Codnor. The former gave him land for a monastery near Alnwick, where, in the year 1240, he founded the priory of Hulne. Lord Grey gave land in Kent for the same purpose, and there the priory of Aylesford was built at the same time. In the latter house, five years afterwards A.D. 1245, the first chapter of the Carmelites in Europe was held, memorable for the election of St. Simon Stock—to whom our Lady gave the scapular*—as prior-general of the whole order.† They were known as the white friars from the colour of their habit, rapidly grew in numbers, passed over into Ireland, and into Scotland; the latter kingdom being the thirteenth province of the order, consisting of nine monasteries.

Aimeri of Limoges, dean and afterwards patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century, is said to have brought the hermits of Carmel together, placing them under the government of one superior, and to have given them a rule of life. Under Brocardo, the second prior, that rule was either laid aside for another, given by Albert of Parma, patriarch of Jerusalem, or was by that patriarch modified, during the pontificate of Innocent III.

* Brev. Rom. Jul. 16. Nec vero nomenclaturam tantum magnificentissima virgo tribuit et tutelam; verum et insigne sacri Scapularis quod beato Simoni Anglico præbuit.

† Reyner. *Apostolat, Ben.* p. 164.

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The rule given by Albert of Parma to the friars who "dwelt by the well of Elias" was confirmed by Honorius III. in the year of our Lord 1226; but when the friars settled in Europe, the rule given to hermits on mount Carmel, whose life was a life of contemplation, became difficult to keep and perhaps impossible, under the changed conditions of life in countries unlike the land where the order had its beginnings. Two friars were therefore sent to the Holy See—probably by the general chapter of Aylesford, in 1245—to beg for directions. In 1248 Innocent IV. confirmed the rule anew, but with certain corrections and modifications; and commanded the friars to observe it. The observance of the mitigated rule in the course of time became a heavier burden than the friars were able to carry. They therefore submitted the rule again to the correction of the Holy See; and Eugenius IV., in 1432, at their request, and in consideration of human weakness, mitigated the severities thereof. From that time forth the friars were allowed to eat flesh, and to be out of their cells, but still within the enclosure. The fast from September 14 to Easter in the following year was dispensed with, and the friars were bound to fast only in Advent and Lent, and on the other days observed in the Church. Other mitigations were afterwards made, which were sanctioned by Pius II. in 1459, and by Sixtus IV., in 1476. The rule was perhaps not severe

now, but the observance of it was no doubt exact, and the friars had the sanction of the Holy See.

It was under this rule that the Carmelites, in Spain and elsewhere, lived when St. Teresa made her profession in the monastery of the incarnation in Avila. She by degrees, as she was raised to higher states of prayer, longed for a stricter way of life, that she might become a more perfect sacrifice to our Lord. She heard, too, of the outbreak of heresy and of the flood of false opinions which had covered the earth, and in her silence her soul took fire.

In her monastery in Avila, it was difficult for her to be much alone, for enclosure was not very rigidly observed; moreover, her superiors sent her from time to time to the houses of people living in the world. This was a sore distress to the saint, for she wished to keep her rule with great strictness, knowing as she did that her first duty was to follow her vocation.* Besides, such strictness as she longed for was not possible in that house, for there were more than a hundred and fifty nuns in it, all of whom could not be compelled to lead a severe life, because their profession bound them only to the mitigated rule.

The saint knew, indeed, that the rule, though not observed anywhere in its original strictness, but according to the custom of the order, sanctioned by

* Life of St. Teresa, c. xxxii. § 11.

the Pope, was a safe way of salvation. Nevertheless she longed to do more than she was bound to do by the rule under which she was living; and, while pondering the matter in her heart, prepared others to enter with her upon her great work of travelling by the straight path for which the few are chosen.

One day in her cell, when the difficulties of a life of prayer and retirement in the monastery of the incarnation were spoken of, her niece, Maria de Ocampo, not then a religious, said that if they who were talking of such high things wished to imitate in earnest the barefooted nuns of St. Francis, means might be found for the foundation of a monastery; she herself would give a thousand ducats for that purpose. Maria de Ocampo was a child, and hitherto had not shown any wish to be a nun; on the contrary, she was fond of dress, and such amusements as she could find. But that generous offer to help others to serve God better received the hundredfold reward at once. Many years afterwards, being then a nun, she wrote thus at the commandment of her confessor: 'The instant I made the offer of a thousand ducats for the foundation of a monastery, I had a vision of our Lord bound to the pillar; a most piteous and distressing sight. He thanked me for that alms and for my goodwill towards the foundation, as it was the first, and told me how greatly it would be to His honour. That vision was to me an exceeding joy, and I was so

moved by it that I made up my mind there and then to take the habit myself; and did so within six months after the foundation of St. Joseph's.'*

St. Teresa's heart was filled with gladness when she heard her niece make the offer; so she began to commend the matter to our Lord, and to take counsel of holy people. The issue was the foundation in 1562, about two years later, of the first monastery of the barefooted nuns of Carmel in the house of St. Joseph, in the city and diocese of Avila, in the kingdom of Old Castille, and under the jurisdiction of the bishop, don Alvaro de Mendoza.

When the first house of the reform was founded, St. Teresa discovered that only half of her work was done. It was not enough to have the primitive rule observed by nuns; friars also must be found to observe it, for the better direction of those nuns. This need of friars had been felt from the very beginning; for when St. Peter of Alcantara told his penitent Isabel de Ortega—afterwards Isabel of St. Dominic—that she was called to the new Carmel of St. Teresa, she replied that she would not belong to the new foundation, because there were no friars observing the same rule from whom she could receive such help as she might require in the spirit of her vocation. Her confessor bade her be at ease, the friars would be found, and the reform about to be

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, lib. i. c. 35. § 7.

begun by St. Teresa would not be confined to nuns. Some five years afterwards, sister Isabel made her profession in St. Joseph's, but the friars of the reform had not yet come. The father-general of the order came to Spain in 1566, and the next year visited St. Teresa in her new monastery; the house was subject to the bishop of the diocese, and its foundress had been withdrawn, but without her own knowledge and consent, from the jurisdiction of the general, to the great grief of them both. The general was a saintly man, and did not wish to lose St. Teresa, so he readmitted her into the order, to her great joy; he allowed her, however, to remain in the house of St. Joseph, giving her authority to found more monasteries of nuns in which the primitive rule should be kept in all its austerity.

That was not all that she wanted; she wished to see friars of the order living under the same rule. The general thought he could not help her, because of the opposition in the province; the friars were wedded to their customs, and disliked change. Her friends went to the general on her behalf, but they could not prevail; at last she wrote to him herself imploring him to give his consent. He was moved by her entreaties, and gave her authority to found two monasteries of friars, but within the province of Castille only.

It is believed that more than one attempt had been

made before this to restore the observance of the primitive rule; be that as it may, it is certain that at this time there was not a monastery belonging to the order which was not under the mitigated rule sanctioned by Eugenius IV. The decree made at the instance of Clement VII., in 1524, for the establishment of one house in each province wherein the primitive rule should be kept, was never executed.* But it is not to be supposed, however, that the order was therefore corrupt, or that its members were not edifying and devout men; the friars kept their rule, and it was very natural that their strict observance of a rule, though less severe than the one laid aside, should seem to them a good reason for persevering under the discipline which was in force when they were admitted to make their religious profession in Carmel.

The new foundations sanctioned by the general were to be known as monasteries of contemplative Carmelites, living according to the old constitutions of the order under the obedience of the general. Though the friars were to spend their time chiefly in saying Mass, in singing the divine office, and in mental prayer, they were, nevertheless, to serve their neighbours in their necessities whenever the occasion for doing so offered itself. They were to go onwards in the way of perfection as Carmelites by the observance of the primitive rule, renouncing the mitigations which,

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, i. p. 107.

in consideration of human weakness, the Sovereign Pontiffs had allowed.

But St. Teresa, though greatly rejoicing in the goodwill of the general, was very far, so it seemed to her, from even a beginning of her work. She did not know of one man in the whole world who would accept the primitive rule. The friars of her order were very few in the province, and among them she saw no signs of better things, yet she did not give up her plan, and was confident that our Lord would come to her help in due time.

Her first monastery of nuns was founded in 1562, and now in 1567—at the very time she received the general's permission to found the two houses—she was in Medina del Campo, making the second foundation of her reform. She was there from the vigil of the assumption to the end of October, busy with her own immediate work in her own monastery, but not forgetting that which was also hers, and which seemed so hopeless. 'While staying there,' she wrote in her *Foundations*,* 'I was always thinking of monasteries of friars; but as I had not one friar to begin with, I did not know what to do.' In her straits she resolved to speak to fra Antonio de Heredia, the prior of the Carmelites in Medina, in the house of St. Anne, founded a few years before—in 1560.

Fra Antonio de Heredia had not been long in

* Ch. iii. § 15.

Medina—he had been made prior in the chapter held this year in Avila—but St. Teresa knew him when he was prior of the Carmelites in Avila. She had made known to him her wishes and desires about houses of friars under the primitive rule, even before the general of the order had come to Spain. When she spoke to him now on the same subject, her plans were more definite, and she had leave to do what she could formerly only wish for. Fra Antonio at once promised to make a beginning himself. St. Teresa thought he was jesting and told him so, but the prior was in earnest, and told her that God was calling him to a stricter life, and that he had intended to leave the order and become a Carthusian.

Fra Antonio, of one of the noblest houses of Biscay, was born in the year 1510, five years before St. Teresa, in Requena of New Castille; his mother was of the family of St. Vincent Ferrer. He became a friar when only ten years of age, and in his twenty-third year was ordained priest. A true friar, simple and obedient, but of a delicate constitution, unused at least to austerities; so the saint, not unreasonably, had some doubts about his fitness. On the other hand, he was a man of great weight in his order, and respected by seculars for his noble birth, his great prudence, and long experience.

St. Teresa, nevertheless, did not think him fitted for the work; she required greater gifts than she was able

to trace in fra Antonio, and retained her doubts. His goodwill, however, pleased her. She would not refuse him, and asked him to wait for a year; meanwhile he was to live in his monastery, and, as far as it should be possible for him, in the practice of those observances which were demanded by the primitive rule. Fra Antonio accepted the conditions and the counsel; gave himself up to a more severe life, and endured much contradiction from his brethren, for they preferred the customs of the mitigation, and had no wish to be reformed.

Soon after this, and before she had left Medina del Campo, fra Pedro Orozco, a grave and learned friar, one of those whom St. Teresa always saw with pleasure, called upon her, and in the course of the conversation told her of a young friar who had just been made a priest, but who wished for a more recollected life than that of the order. The account of his recollection, his humility, his devotion, and his gravity beyond his years, struck St. Teresa; so she begged him to send that friar to her. She saw that this was the man whom God had raised up to be the foundation of her reform and the corner-stone of the new Carmel. Fra Pedro promised to send him, and St. Teresa betook herself to her prayers. She spent that night in earnest supplications unto our Lord to send her the young friar for the work that He had

given her to do. It was the prayer of Rachel, 'Children, or I die.'

Fra Pedro had some difficulty in persuading the friar to visit St. Teresa, but he prevailed in the end, and the next day the visit was unwillingly made. Then St. Teresa saw for the first time the great saint and doctor of Carmel, the poor friar, John of the Cross.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1542—1568.

Family of the saint—Francis de Yepes—Poverty—Don Alonso Alvarez—Juan de Yepes at school—his longing for a religious life—enters the monastery of the Carmelites—Profession—is sent to Salamanca—ordained priest—returns to Medina—intends to become a Carthusian.

St. John of the Cross was born June 24th, in the year 1542, in Hontiveros, once a flourishing city, but then fallen into decay, in Old Castille, within the diocese of Avila, the birthplace of St. Teresa. His father, Gonzalo de Yepes, of an ancient and honourable family, and his mother, Catherine Alvarez, a poor orphan, were both natives of Toledo. Catherine had been brought up by a devout widow, also from Toledo, who had come to Hontiveros, where she gave herself up to good works. She watched carefully and tenderly over the friendless orphan, whom she nurtured in the fear of God and in the practice of true devotion. The child grew up according to her education, and to her natural beauty, which was very great, God was pleased to add the more winning beauty of modesty and grace.

Don Gonzalo had been brought up by an uncle, a merchant in Toledo, who sent him from time to time, on the business of the house, to Medina del Campo, where traders assembled from all parts of Europe. On his way to Medina, don Gonzalo was in the habit of lodging in Hontiveros, in the house of the widow from Toledo—with whom, perhaps, he was already acquainted—who had taken under her motherly charge the friendless orphan, Catherine Alvarez.

The nephew of the wealthy merchant, without consulting his family, or even speaking to any of his kindred, made Catherine Alvarez his wife. Thereupon his relatives, indignant, disowned him, and his uncle abandoned him to the poverty he had courted—for they regarded the marriage as unseemly; and from that day forth don Gonzalo was a stranger to his brethren and an outcast, for, according to the maxims of the world, he had brought disgrace into an honourable house.

Don Gonzalo was now as poor as his wife, both being utterly destitute, but the keener pangs of poverty were not felt so long as the widow lived. Don Gonzalo, on his part, made efforts to gain his bread by silk-weaving, learning the art from his wife, but his gains were scanty, and poverty came in as an armed man that could not be kept at bay; his days henceforth were days of penury and toil, unrelieved by a single gleam of worldly prosperity. Three

children were born to him, Francis, Luis, and Juan; the second died in his infancy, but the others grew up to shed a glory on the family of the De Yepes that disowned their father, which no other member of it had done.

Francis, the eldest, was born in 1530, and John, the youngest, in 1542. When the charitable widow died, the help they had received from her in their poverty ceased, and at last don Gonzalo fell ill. He lingered on for two years and then died, having led a good and pious life, and borne his trials in humility and patience, conforming himself to the will of God, leaving to his children the sole inheritance of an unsullied name. The widow was destitute and had three children to maintain. In her great straits she went, by the advice of her neighbours, to implore help from her husband's family; perhaps the brothers still living they said to her, would forgive the dead, and be generous to her and her helpless children. She hoped it might be so, and travelled amidst great hardships and difficulties to Torrijos, where a brother of don Gonzalo was staying at the time. He was an archdeacon, a member of the great chapter of Toledo and probably not poor. She spoke to him of her own poverty, and begged him to take one of his nephews into his house. The archdeacon could not help her; the children were too young; and with that excuse the poor widow had to go her way sorrowing.

In great distress of mind and body, she went now to Galves, about twenty miles from Toledo, where another brother was living. That brother was a physician and a very charitable man, most ready at all times to help all around him. He received with the utmost kindness the widow of his brother, and undertook the charge of Francis, the eldest boy, promising to educate him and finally to make him his heir; he had no children himself. He had made a promise, however, which he could not keep; but the poor widow did not know it, and left her boy in his house. The physician was necessarily much from home, and his wife was not, so it appeared, a woman to be trusted with the children of others. She kept the boy at home instead of sending him to school, made him her servant in many ways, and treated him with great unkindness. Not only was he not sent to school, but his education was neglected, and he had to bear not with ill-treatment only, but with scanty food and scanty raiment.

Catherine Alvarez the sorrowing mother returned to Hontiveros, where she laboured to earn bread for herself and the two children; the youngest, Juan, still an infant. For a whole year she heard nothing of her eldest son, Francis, and, being uneasy about him, resolved at last to make another journey to Galves, that she might see her child with her own eyes. The poor woman knew nothing of the hardships he had to bear

they were certainly not lighter than the poverty of his mother's house, and were never relieved by the sunshine of the mother's love. The boy told her, with tears in his eyes, of the treatment he received; perhaps he could not have hidden it from her; and she made up her mind to take him home, though the uncle, who, until that day, knew nothing of it, promised to watch over him for the future if his mother would let him remain. Catherine Alvarez would not leave her child there to suffer out of her sight; her own poverty was for her a lighter burden to carry than the ill-treatment of the unfeeling aunt. The mother and the child returned to Hontiveros, perhaps receiving alms on the way; and then, like Anna, the mother of Tobias, Catherine Alvarez went 'daily to her weaving work, and brought home what she could get for their living by the labour of her hands.'

Notwithstanding her poverty she sent the children to school; but the progress of Francis in human learning was not great, so she made him a weaver, as his father had been, giving him thereby at least the means of earning his bread. Francis never changed his occupation; it was to him the work for which he was fitted; and he lived all his days contentedly in his lowly condition, poor, and sometimes even in want. From Hontiveros, Catherine removed with her children to Arevalo, where Francis married Anne Izquierda, and then soon after, in 1551, the poor household re-

moved to Medina del Campo; the second son, Luis, being dead, God having taken him to Himself in the bloom of his innocence and his youth.

Francis was hardly two-and-twenty years old when he came to Medina, but he was an old man in grace and goodness, given to mortification and to prayer. Though he had made no progress whatever in human learning, and perhaps never knew more than how to read, yet God had given him a learning which no human skill can compass. In Arevalo he had begun a life of solid devotion, under the direction of a holy priest, who made him confess and communicate once a week. In those days that was not usual, for even St. Teresa, in a convent, was recommended to communicate only once in a fortnight, even at the time when she was striving after perfection.* He continued that practice for many years, until another confessor bade him receive our Lord more frequently It was his custom from that time forth all his life, in summer, to go, like Isaac, to the fields at nightfall to make his prayer in some retired spot, where he would make himself a place like a tomb, and then lie down with his face heavenwards, and his arms stretched out as if he were on the cross. The time he spent in prayer varied, according to the communications which God made to him, and not according to any rule which he had laid down for himself. In winter he re-

* Life c. vii. § 27.

tired into some church at nightfall, and, when unwell or unable to go out, he withdrew into some lonely place in his own house, never dispensing himself, but praying always without ceasing. This was his habit all his life, and for this God visited him in visions, revelations, trances, and divine locutions, but never in the wealth of this world. He was nurtured in poverty and humility, and his old age was like his manhood and his youth. He had eight children; seven died in their infancy, and one became a Cistercian nun in the monastery of the Holy Ghost in Olmedo. Francis de Yepes outlived his younger brother, and died at midnight on Friday, the feast of St. Andrew, 1607; and then the whole city of Medina del Campo was moved, for he had been regarded as a saint who had wrought miracles, and had the gift of prophecy. The canons of the collegiate church and four religious orders came to his poor house, to bring him, who had been one of the poorest men in the city, to the church of St. Anne. He was borne by the friars of Carmel and the canons, the latter doing for the poor weaver what they would not have done for the greatest personage in Spain.

Catherine Alvarez, living in the house of her eldest son, had in Medina but one child to nurture, her youngest-born Juan. She brought him up as she brought up his elder brother, tenderly in the fear of God, and he, like his brother, made the same return

to her for her motherly care. The child was wise above his years, gentle and recollected, obedient to his mother, and winning in his ways. Signs of the sanctity, afterwards to be attained to and revealed unto men, were not wanting even at this time.

One day the boy was playing with other children close by a pool, and fell in. The water was deep and muddy, and it was hardly possible for a child such as he was to escape with his life. The children who saw him fall could do nothing but cry for the help which they could not give. He sank beneath the waters, and for an instant was out of sight; but he rose quickly to the surface, and never sank again. He showed no signs of fear; nor did he cry for help. A lady of wondrous beauty held out her hand to him; he would not take it, because his own was not clean. At last a man came by who, holding out a rod, drew the child therewith safe to the bank, and went his way; none of the children knowing who he was.

On another occasion, about two years afterwards, as he, with his mother and his elder brother, were about to enter Medina del Campo, a wild beast came forth to attack him, whereupon he, being barely seven years old, made the sign of the cross, and was saved. He showed no signs of fear, so great was his trust in God.

In Medina del Campo he attended the school for the children of the poor. The boy was attentive, and

above all attentive to the religious exercises practised therein. At the same time he used to go early in the morning to the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene of the Augustinian nuns, and there serve Mass as often as he could, which he did with such recollection and devotion as to attract the notice of those who were present, and move them to greater earnestness in the service of God. When he was thirteen years of age his mother had him apprenticed, but the boy who was so quick and intelligent at school was too dull to learn a trade; he was tried in many ways, but he could not be taught, nor had he the power of learning anything whatever. It was time wasted, God had other work for him.

The great hospital of the conception in Medina del Campo was at this time administered by a gentleman from Toledo, don Alonso Alvarez, who, weary of the world and without a vocation to the priesthood, devoted himself to the service of the poor and the sick, by taking on himself the charge of the hospital of Medina. Having heard of Juan de Yepes, and his hopeless struggles to earn bread for himself and his mother, he went to Catherine Alvarez, and offered to take the boy into his service in the hospital, promising at the same time to allow him to attend school. The offer was gladly accepted both by mother and son, and Juan de Yepes became the servant of the poor in the public hospital of the town.

Very soon after he had begun to serve the poor, being in the courtyard of the hospital, he fell into the well, which had been left uncovered. The people who saw him fall cried aloud, thinking it was impossible to save him, for the well was deep and the water abundant. The people in the neighbourhood heard the noise, and rushed in. On looking into the well they saw the boy on the surface of the water, calm and unhurt. Having drawn him up by a rope, they asked him how it all happened, upon which he, with great simplicity, told them that a lady of great beauty had received him in her arms as he was falling, and sustained him till they let down the rope by which he was rescued. The people wondered, and regarded the boy as one whom God was preserving for great deeds.

Poor himself, born and nurtured in poverty, and knowing nothing but poverty—poverty was the high estate to which God had called him—he waited humbly on the poor and the sick, tending them carefully, and showing no signs of impatience or disgust; for he saw in the poor whom he served the sacred person of our most Blessed Lord.

In the year 1551, the year Catherine Alvarez came to Medina, the society of Jesus opened a great school there—it was the first they established in Spain—and to this school, by the kindness of don Alonso who kept his promise, Juan de Yepes was sent daily from the hospital of the conception.

The college of the society was not a school of idle men; the teachers were in earnest, and breathed that earnestness into the hearts of those who came to them for the learning which they could furnish. Juan was neither idle nor dull, and made great progress in the school, which he frequented for about seven years. It is recorded of him that he was very careful in the study of all those questions which are raised about the soul and its powers, and that the fruit of his labours may be traced in his writings, on mystical theology, wherein without effort, as it seems, the very gravest questions are most clearly discussed and most wonderfully solved.

Juan de Yepes, young as he was, knew the worth of the learning which the fathers of the society taught him, discerning from the first the use to which it might be put. The lectures of the professors on the soul and its powers seemed to him the road to a great goal, which he hoped to reach. They showed him how to pray, and how to describe the different states of prayer. His own life at this time was more of a life of prayer than a life of study, and he made everything subserve his one purpose—the doing in the best way he could the work of God which he had to do.

In the hospital he was the humble and laborious servant of the poor all the time; no duty was neglected, no service carelessly rendered. When his work in the house was done, he then, and not before, betook

himself to prayer and his books. Besides, he led a most penitential life; for when he was only nine years of age his mother discovered that he had begun to treat his body with severity, but she was too wise a woman to meddle with the child's devotion. He would sleep on the floor of his poor room with a bundle of fagots for a pillow. In the hospital he redoubled his austerities, and was a cruel master to the frail body which God had given to so heroic a soul, robbing it of sleep and the necessary rest.

He had been twice saved from the peril of death by our Blessed Lady, and to her he was extremely devout. He said her rosary daily on his knees together with the little office, and confessed her glory and her greatness on all possible occasions, knowing in his earlier years that he could not follow our Lord without honouring His Mother, whom He had so highly honoured Himself.

Don Alonso Alvarez hoped that Juan de Yepes would in due time accept a benefice, the patronage of which was in his hands, and receive holy orders; that done, he hoped also to prevail upon him to become the chaplain of the hospital, and take the charge and government of it into his own hands. The poor mother knew of the good intentions of don Alonso, and she might well be forgiven if she entered gladly into such a scheme. But it was not to be; Juan de Yepes in his humility shrunk from the priesthood, and

the offers of don Alonso were thankfully but resolutely declined.

The school and the hospital occupied all his time, for he carefully avoided all the pastimes in which young men of his years indulged. If he was not wanted in the school or the hospital, he was in church or in some secret place in prayer.

When he had reached his twentieth year he began to think of his state, and on the way in which he was to serve God for the rest of his days. He had no wish or will of his own; all he desired was to serve our Lord, but he knew not how. He redoubled his importunities in prayer and earnestly begged for light and guidance, resigning himself without reserve into the hands of God, Whose absolute power and unquestionable right over him he never thought of doubting. One day when he was in prayer begging for light and commending his future life to our Lord, he heard a voice and he also heard words—they sounded to him so strange and mysterious that he was afraid to reveal them to any one. The words were, 'Thou art to serve Me in an order, the ancient perfection of which thou shalt help to bring back again.'

He understood that God wished him to become a religious, and he was content, but he could not understand that he was to do so great a work as to recover again the former greatness of any order. He shrunk from the task, and, so far as he could, banished the

thought of it from his mind, for he looked upon it as a snare and an occasion of delusion to his soul. He confessed this at a later time to the saintly nun, the venerable Anne of Jesus.

Hitherto he had not thought of the life of a religious as one possible for himself, but from this time forth the desire to leave the world, into which he had really never entered, grew within him and became strong. The more he prayed the more he longed to be a religious, but he was not drawn towards one order more than another; all orders were equally indifferent to him and equally desired. In this uncertainty he went one day to the monastery of St. Anne. The friars had come to the city in the year 1560, when Juan was eighteen years old, and the sight of the Carmelite habit made an impression upon him which it had never made before. He knew now that his vocation was to serve God in Carmel, and was glad he had been poor all his life—not against his will, it is true; but his poverty was the poverty of his family, not his own; and now he embraced poverty as his bride, and, renouncing even the possibility of possessing anything, gave himself up to follow our Lord in His poverty, and resolved to become a mendicant friar.

He made his way into the house, and begged to be received into the order. The friars were well pleased, for he was known in Medina; and he received the habit on the feast of St. Mathias, February 24, 1563,

being then in the twenty-first year of his age. In honour of the Apostle, he gave up his own name of Yepes, and was henceforth known in the order as Juan de San-Matias so long as he continued to profess the mitigated rule.

In the novitiate his regularity and obedience, his recollection, his fervour, his penances, and the austerities permitted him, were a fountain of edification to all in the house. His prudence and humility were once severely tested, and he did an act from which novices might well shrink, and which novices can rarely, if ever, perform without some imperfection, if not sin. He was one day with a father of the order who behaved somewhat negligently in the presence of seculars. Juan of St. Mathias was the only religious who saw the fault committed, which is not said to have been at all serious, but merely an unseemliness in one who wore the habit of religion. The novice reminded the father of his failure; but he did so with so much humility and discretion, that the father not only did not seem offended; on the contrary, he corrected himself, and accepted the correction with joy.

In the following year, in 1564, he made his profession before fra Ángel de Salazar, the provincial of Castille. His generous protector, Alonso Alvarez, was present at the ceremony. The record of that profession was preserved in the house as a precious

memorial, and the small cell in which Juan of St. Mathias lived was, after his death, made into a chapel, though the monastery itself never adopted the reform of St. Teresa. But the house for ever after retained traces of the passage of Juan of St. Mathias through it, in the regular observances and the edifying punctuality of the community in all its duties both within and without.

Having now made his profession, he began to consider anew the obligations of his state. While giving continual thanks to God for having brought him into the safe sanctuary of the order of our Lady of Carmel, he sought for light to direct his ways in the strictest observance of the rule. Nourishing his soul by prayer, and feeding the fires of prayer by a constant reading of the *Following of Christ*, he thought nothing easy that the world required of him, and nothing difficult to which God called him. The rule he read diligently, that he might be filled with its spirit, and be made like unto the saints who had been formed in the order to which he, unworthy—so he considered himself—had been admitted. When he read the rule which the blessed Albert of Parma had given, and which Innocent IV. had confirmed, but with the exact observance of which Eugenius IV. had dispensed, he wished he might be allowed to keep it, so far as it was possible for him. But being a child of obedience, he would do nothing of his own will; he had given

up that to his superiors and never resumed it. Nevertheless, he could represent his wishes to them, and did so; they listened to him, perhaps not without some misgivings, but they did not resist, lest they should put out a flame which our Lord had kindled. They gave him leave to observe the primitive rule, provided that no duty of the community be neglected, and the present discipline of the house maintained in everything.

He now entered on a life of penance which, because of the conditions under which he was living, was much more severe than the rule required. He was present at all the exercises of the community, in choir, chapter, and refectory, avoiding all appearance of singularity, and in all outward semblance differing in nothing from the other friars of the house. Yet he was fasting from the feast of the Holy Cross in September till Easter in the following year, and abstaining wholly from flesh meat throughout the year, according to the primitive rule. But as no provision was made for him in the house, and as he had to attend and did attend, in the refectory daily, where meat was served, according to the dispensation of Eugenius IV., it was hard for him to disguise his own mortification, and at the same time find food enough to support life. He had nothing in his cell, and he would not eat except at the lawful times. He kept silence also according to the rule, and for that

end withdrew to his cell the moment he was free from the duties he had to discharge in public. He laboured also with his hands, as the ancient hermits did, and in his cell he would make crosses and disciplines, with other instruments of penance; but his chief work was prayer, that being the true work of a friar of Carmel, for it is said in the rule, 'Let all remain in their cells, or near them, meditating night and day in the law of our Lord.'

His superiors, wisely discerning the great value of Juan of St. Mathias, determined to send him to their college in Salamanca, that by the help of the learning to be there acquired he might be made a labourer in our Saviour's vineyard, whom none could put to shame, rightly handling the word of truth. The college of his order in Salamanca was then known as the college of St. Andrew the Apostle, but at a later time the name was changed, and the college of the Carmelites in Salamanca became the college of St. Teresa. The school of theology in the university was celebrated throughout Europe; the Dominicans had given it professors of great names. Francis a Vittoria, who came from the university of Paris, died in 1546, and was succeeded by his pupil, Melchior Cano, who, resigning his chair on being made bishop of the Canaries, made way for the celebrated Dominic de Soto, who had been at the council of Trent, and had just refused the see of Segovia. Soto died in 1560,

and was succeeded by Mantius de Corpore Christi, who sat in the great chair of theology in Salamanca, when father Juan of St. Mathias was sent thither from Medina del Campo.*

Fra Juan of St. Mathias went to Salamanca in the year 1564. He was there most diligent in his attendance in the schools, but his studies never interfered with the severity of his penitential habits. What he had begun in Medina del Campo with the sanction of his superiors was continued in Salamanca, amid the unavoidable interruptions of the public schools. The very cell assigned him in the Carmelite house was a prison rather than a room; it was small dark, and wholly unfurnished; it is true it held a shallow coffer which he used as a bed, but which was more like a coffin than anything else. In that coffer, without any covering other than his habit, and a block of wood for his pillow, father John took his rest at night, such as it was, and such as he allowed himself to take. All the light he had came through a narrow opening in the roof, and it was very scanty. On the other hand, there was a window in it opening into the church, through which he could see the tabernacle on the altar in which our Lord was dwelling. That was to him a sight more satisfying than anything the world without could show him. That cell in Salamanca, as the other in Medina, was at a

*Bañes, in 2^{dam} 2^{dae} qu. I, art. I, concl. I.

later time converted into a chapel, because it had been once tenanted by a poor friar who seems never to have been the owner of anything on the face of the earth.

He mortified his body with extreme severity. The primitive rule is austere enough even for souls athirst for penance, but Juan of St. Mathias found the burden too light for his shoulders. He girt his loins with an iron chain studded with sharp points, and over his body he wore a dress made of coarse grass, after the fashion of fishermen's nets, the thick knots of which were as hard as stones. This he hid under the habit of his order. The unceasing distress caused thereby he relieved by the most cruel disciplines, the effects of which could not always be concealed from his companions and his superiors. And it was a new and sharp penance to him when his secret mortifications became known to others.

Though he was allowed to keep the primitive rule, he never failed to observe the minutest practice in force in the house where he was living. He did not dispense himself, nor expect to be dispensed, from the daily order of the monastery, nor did he claim any exemption on the ground that he kept a rule which was more austere than that under which his brethren were living. Modest, humble, and silent, he did the work he had to do, as if he were not already over-

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burdened with another work, but of which his companions, however, might have said that he was not bound to do it. Everything was in order within him: he was regular in the house, punctual in the choir and in the schools, no duty ever interrupted another. Nor was he carried away by his love of learning from the more important work of prayer; he made the lectures he heard minister to his prayer, and in prayer he found light from God, which enabled him to profit by the learning of those who taught him. Always cheerful and recollected, he was held in respect even by the turbulent youth of a great university, and by his superiors was specially beloved. In the public disputations he spoke modestly and to the point; when defeated in the contest he acknowledged his opponent's skill, but was never troubled at his own discomfiture, neither was he elated at the close of a disputation in which he had been successful.

In this way did the time pass from his arrival in Salamanca, in 1564, till near the middle of the year 1567. He was then commanded by his superiors to prepare himself for the order of priesthood. That was a dignity he had shrunk from when in the hospital of Medina del Campo, but it was not in his power now to do that which he did then; he was under obedience; so, bewailing his great unworthiness of which he alone was conscious, he went into retreat, and was ordained priest in Salamanca in the year 1567.

The ordination took place probably in May of that year, but his biographers are silent; and as soon as he was made priest his superiors sent him back to Medina del Campo, there to sing his first Mass; partly because it was to be sung in the house of St. Anne wherein he had taken the habit, and partly to give pleasure to his mother, who, in her poverty, had trained him up, and given him to serve our Lord in poverty for the rest of his life.

He came to Medina del Campo, and began to prepare himself anew for the great act which he was there to do for the first time—to offer up the sacrifice of the new law. He redoubled his austerities and prolonged his vigils, giving himself wholly unto prayer. All his life, even hitherto, had been a life of detachment and purity; and now he seems to have felt that it was more necessary than ever for him to keep close unto God, lest sin should come in between them and separate him from the only love of his soul. He went up to the altar on the day appointed for him, and made the great oblation; then, holding in his hands God Who made him, he prayed to Him with all his might for grace to persevere in pureness of life, and never to stain his baptismal robe. The cry of faith went straight to the heart of God; and Juan of St. Mathias heard an inward voice, which said, 'Thy prayer is granted.'

Great graces from God are accompanied with a

desire to retain them. Fra Juan, considering the promise made him while saying Mass for the first time, considered also how he was to do that which lay in his power in order to reap the fruits of it. He saw how necessary it was for him to withdraw farther and farther from the commerce of men, in order to be led into the wilderness in which the divine communications are made. He had made the offering of his whole self, and had nothing more to offer now; but it was his duty still to watch with Abraham, and drive away the birds of the air, lest they should devour and defile the sacrifice. He saw no other way before him but that of leaving the order of Carmel, and entering that of the Carthusians; for that order was the sole order which he, a mendicant, could enter.

He returned to Salamanca, probably to finish his course in the university; and later in the year came away in the company of fra Pedro de Orozco, who was returning to Medina. From Medina fra Juan intended to go to the Carthusians of Segovia, to hide himself from the sight and commerce of men, that he might serve God without distraction. He remained for a time in the monastery of St. Anne; but his secret was probably not unknown, for he had told fra Pedro of his resolution, and he it was who helped to make it void, by communicating to St. Teresa what he knew of the fervent spirit hidden in the frail body of fra

Juan of St. Mathias, and of the earnest longings for a life more perfect than was that he was then living among the Carmelites of the mitigation.

CHAPTER III.

St. John of the Cross persuaded by St. Teresa to become a friar of her reform—Duruelo—St. John of the Cross in Valladolid—goes to Duruelo.

FRA JUAN of St. Mathias was five-and-twenty years old when, at the urgent request of fra Pedro de Orozco, he went to see St. Teresa in her monastery in Medina. St. Teresa herself was in her fifty-third year, and had been more than thirty-three years in religion. Fra Juan had been about four years in the order, to the reform of which he was now called by the voice of the saint. In the house of St. Joseph, in Medina del Campo, the two saints met for the first time, and then the nun told the friar what she intended to do, and the friar on his part told her that he had for some time wished to live among the Carthusians, believing himself called to a life of greater retirement and prayer. But as the conversation continued, and as the elder saint represented to the younger that he would do more for the glory of God if he would remain where he was, and labour to restore the primitive rule of his order than if he left it for another, fra Juan, humble and self-doubting, yielded to the persuasions of St. Teresa, and consented to do her

bidding, provided the work should be entered upon without delay. He was the gift of God* to St. Teresa who was now content; she had found the one man on whom she could depend; for though she had already accepted upon certain conditions the prior of Medina, fra Antonio de Heredia, she was not wholly satisfied with him, and did not, therefore, begin the reform of the friars at once. She waited a while; partly because of her want of perfect confidence in fra Antonio, and partly because she had no house to give them, nor the means wherewith to buy one; she was poor and without money. Her poverty did not trouble her, on the contrary, she was glad, and used to say that she had begun her work, for she had found a friar and a half; fra Antonio was a portly personage of dignified presence, and fra Juan was small of stature, and worn already by austerities. There was nothing in his outward look to command the respect of ordinary men; but St. Teresa knew his worth, and was wont to say of him that father John of the Cross was one of the most pure and holy souls in the Church of God.

Two friars, then, were found willing to renounce the mitigated observances of the order, and to undertake the austerities of the primitive rule; but there was no house to lodge them in, nor a single penny wherewith to buy one. The two friars were, like St.

* In fest. St. Joannis a Cruce. Nov. 24, Lect. v. Sanctæ Teresiæ comes divinitus datus est.

Teresa, mendicants, and had no possessions; so they remained for the present in the house of St. Anne in Medina, were they met with many crosses; but St. Teresa was without fear about one of them at least; for, 'though he was living,' she said, with a certain maliciousness, 'among the fathers of the mitigated rule, he always led a perfect and religious life.'*

St. Teresa went from Medina, about the end of October 1567, to Madrid, and thence to the monastery of the venerable Maria of Jesus in Alcala de Henares, where she remained for some time. In April 1568, she had made her foundation in Malagon, and was preparing to make another in Valladolid. In Malagon she saw fra Juan again; and one day, while conversing together, both fell into a trance, and were seen by mother Isabel of the Incarnation; fra Juan in the parlour of the monastery, and St. Teresa on the other side of the grating.† In June, St. Teresa returned to Avila to make the last arrangements for the monastery to be founded in Valladolid; and while so occupied, don Rafael Mejia Velasquez, to whom she had never spoken before, called upon her, and offered a small cottage that he had in the country in Duruelo for the monastery which he had heard she wished to found. She accepted the offer with great gratitude, and on the recommendation of don Rafael

* *Foundations*, xiii. § 1.

† *Reforma de los Descalços*, i. p. 242.

went to see the place. She set out on her journey before the end of the month, early in the morning; but so little known was the cottage of don Rafael, that nobody could tell her where to find it. She missed her way, therefore, and though the place was not far from Avila, it was dark before she reached it. The state of the house was such that the saint and her companions could not venture to pass the night in it, the filth of it was so great. It was also harvest-time, and the use to which it was then put did not make it a pleasant place to rest in. It had a porch, a small kitchen, and a room with a low garret over it.

Sister Antonia of the Holy Ghost, who was with St. Teresa, regarded the foundation of a monastery there as impossible. 'No man,' she said, 'how ever spiritual he may be, can live here.' But the saint persevered in her purpose, discerning in the poverty of the place the Bethlehem of the reform of Carmel, She was won by its utter wretchedness.

The night was spent in the neighbouring church. The next day St. Teresa reached Medina del Campo, and told the prior of the Carmelites that she had found a house. Fra Antonio was not alarmed by the account given of it but courageously took up his cross; he was content to live anywhere, provided he could keep the primitive rule. Fra Juan of St. Mathias made no objection; to him the poverty of the house

was as a spell that bound him, and he was of one mind with the prior. But all the difficulties were not overcome. The general of the order had allowed the foundation of the new monasteries to be made on the condition that the then provincial and the former provincial gave their consent: there were good reasons for fearing the opposition of the latter, fra Angel de Salazar. He had already had some trouble with St. Teresa, and probably had not forgotten it.

St. Teresa went on to Valladolid to make the foundation there, and took with her fra Juan, that he might see the way in which the rule was kept. There the nuns had to live for some time in a monastery unenclosed, because of the workmen in the house; and that was perhaps a gain for him, because it enabled him to see more of their ways. While he was thus, in a manner, a novice for the second time, St. Teresa was engaged in obtaining the necessary consent of the provincial, fra Alonso Gonzalez, who came at this time to Valladolid. He was not at all willing to accept the new monastery under his jurisdiction: but the bishop of Avila and his sister, doña Maria de Mendoza, friends of St. Teresa, came also to Valladolid, and helped her to the utmost of their power. The two provincials gave way at last, moved not a little by some difficulties of their own, for the removal of which they required the help of the bishop's sister. Every hindrance was now overcome; and the

foundation of the first monastery of the barefooted Carmelites was not only possible, but legal, according to the constitutions of the order, and it was made with the full sanction of the general, to the great joy of those who were about to begin the reform of Carmel.

St. Teresa and her nuns with their own hands made the habit of the first friar of the reform, Fra Juan of St. Mathias. With that habit, but not wearing it, and with the means of saying Mass, he left Valladolid for Duruelo.

One of the workmen employed in repairing the monastery of the nuns was sent with him, for his services would be greatly needed in the ruined house which was to be the cradle of the reform of Carmel. Fra Juan and his companion were to pass through Avila on their way to Duruelo; so St. Teresa wrote a letter to her old and faithful friend, and in some ways her director, don Francis de Salcedo. In that letter she thus wrote of him—

'I beg you to speak to him,' she writes, 'and help him in this affair; for though he is but a little man, I believe him to be great in the sight of God. We miss him here very much; for he is a man of prudence and well fitted for our way of life, and I believe that our Lord has called him to this work. There is not a friar who does not speak well of him, for his life has been most penitential, though he is still young. Besides,

our Lord seems to hold him by the hand; for though we have had some trouble here—and I am a very trouble myself, for I have been angry with him now and then—yet we never saw any imperfection in him. He has courage, but as he is alone he has need of all the courage our Lord gives him to undertake this work in earnest. He will tell you how we are getting on here.'

Having finished her letter, in which she had spoken of many things, she returns again to fra Juan, adding the following paragraph:

'I ask you once more to be so good as to speak to this father, and to give him such advice as you can concerning his way of life. The spirit and goodness with which our Lord has filled him encourage me, amidst our many difficulties, to think that we are making a good beginning. He is a man much given to prayer, and is endowed with good sense. May our Lord be good to him!'*

All the preparations that could be made in Valladolid being made, fra Juan took leave of St. Teresa and her nuns, and begged the mother of the reform to bless him, her eldest son, for he was going forth into a strange land, and quitting his brethren in religion, who were soon after to be to him less than friends. St. Teresa with the nuns wept tears of joy at

* Letter 10, written about the end of September, 1568.

the humility of the father, and promised him the help of their prayers; and then, falling on their knees, begged him who had been their spiritual father and confessor, as the priest of our Lord, to give them all his blessing. Fra Juan took leave of the saint, and set out for Avila, where he saw don Francis de Salcedo; and then, avoiding Medina del Campo, where his mother and brother were living, went to Duruelo, to lay the foundations of the reform of the friars of Carmel.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1568—1570—1572.

The saint in Duruelo—Beginning of the reform of the friars—Change of names—Life in Duruelo—St. Teresa visits the friars—Monastery of Pastrana—Fra Baltasar of Jesus—The friars remove from Duruelo to Manzera—Novices of the saint—St. John goes to Pastrana—to Alcala de Henares—Fra Pedro Fernandez—Fra Angel of St. Gabriel—Fra Dominic Bañes—Francis de Yepes.

FRA JUAN of St. Mathias had probably never seen the house in Duruelo which he was to turn into a monastery, before he went thither to take possession of it in the autumn of 1568. Its poverty-stricken state had an irresistible charm for him, and he entered it with joy in his heart because he had found his true rest on the earth. He began at once to put the house in order: the porch was to be the church, the garret over the inner chamber the choir of the religious, the only room in it to be the dormitory, and the small kitchen was to become still smaller, for a part of it was to be taken for the refectory. The only ornaments of the church were crosses made of branches of trees. Then, when the work was done and evening had come, fra Juan sent the workman who was with him to the village to beg for food, for there was none in the new monastery of Carmel. The

people gave him some broken bread; and thus they broke the fast of that day.

The greater part of the night, notwithstanding the labour of the day before, fra Juan spent in prayer; and in the morning, having prepared the altar, he proceeded to say Mass. The habit he had received from St. Teresa he laid on the altar, and blessed, and at the end of Mass he put it on. He had neither shoes nor stockings—nothing to protect his feet from the ground: he was as poor as man could well be, and in as poor a monastery as any in the world. Outwardly and inwardly detached, he fell on his knees, and, with fervent thanksgiving, commended himself and his work to our Lord, through the intercession of His most blessed Mother, who had been his singular protectress from his childhood up to that day.

He remained here alone, for fra Antonio could not come. That father, however, was able to leave Medina for Valladolid, to see St. Teresa, and to give her an account of the preparations he had made for his new life in Carmel. He had provided himself with five hour-glasses, to insure punctuality—to the great amusement of St. Teresa*—and he had not thought of even a bed to lie on. But it was not his fault that he was still absent from Duruelo. He was prior of the house in Medina, and was waiting

* *Foundations*, xiv. § 2.

for the provincial who also, on his part, was unable to come. However, he came at last, and fra Antonio resigned his priorate, and renounced the mitigations of the rule in the presence of the provincial. It was now nearly the end of November. Fra Antonio took with him one of the brethren, fra Joseph, not yet a priest, and reached Duruelo on Saturday, December 27th, the eve of the first Sunday in Advent 1568.

The night was spent in prayer by the little community of three; and the next morning, fra Antonio and fra Juan having said Mass, the three friars, on their knees before the Most Holy, weeping tears of joy, renewed the solemn vows of their profession, and renounced the mitigations of the rule which Eugenius IV. had sanctioned. They then promised our Lord and His most blessed Mother, the most holy Mary of Mount Carmel, and the most reverend the father-general of the order, to live henceforth under the primitive rule of St. Albert, and to keep it in its integrity until death, according to the corrections of his Holiness Innocent IV.

They then, as St. Teresa had done, changed their names. The choir-brother, fra Joseph, became Joseph of Christ; Antonio de Heredia, Antonio of Jesus; and Juan of St. Mathias, John of the Cross. Soon after, the provincial came to Duruelo, and made fra Antonio prior, fra John of the Cross sub-prior and master of novices, and fra Joseph of Christ porter and sacristan.

There was another father also in the house, who had come from Medina del Campo, in the hope that he might be able to live under the old rule. But as he was in bad health, and as his infirmities grew under the severities he attempted to undergo, he returned to the mitigation. Fra Joseph of Christ also fell away, and returned to the old observance; but the two friars whom St. Teresa had chosen remained in Duruelo. Thus the reform was legally and peaceably begun, with the consent of the general of the order, and the active co-operation of the provincial, fra Alonso Gonzalez.

Though St. John of the Cross had lived for two months, more or less, in Duruelo before the arrival of fra Antonio, in the practice of the primitive rule, the foundation of the reform of the friars is considered to have been made on the first Sunday in Advent, when the two fathers were assembled together with brother Joseph. In the records of the monastery the foundation is thus described:

'In the year one thousand five hundred and sixty eight, the twenty-eighth day of November, this monastery of our Lady of Mount Carmel was founded in this place. In which monastery the primitive rule in its vigour, as delivered unto us by our first fathers, began to be observed by the help and grace of the Holy Ghost: the father, the doctor fra Alonso Gonzalez being provincial of the province; the brothers

fra Antonio of Jesus, fra John of the Cross, and fra Joseph of Christ, by the Grace of God, began to live according to the rule in its strictness. The house and the place were given us by the noble lord don Rafael Mejia Velasquez, the owner; the most illustrious lord don Alonzo de Mendoza, bishop of Avila, consenting to the foundation of the house.'*

This was the beginning of the reform of the friars; and it should never be forgotten that neither St. Teresa nor the friars of the reform ever complained of any laxity in the houses they left. The friars of the mitigation were not disorderly in their lives; they kept their rule and constitutions, and were blameless men. The reform was not a reform of manners, or the rooting out of evil, but simply a restoration of the olden rule which in times past the Sovereign Pontiff had, for good reasons, mitigated, but had never suppressed. The general of the order and the provincials in Spain never imagined at the time that the reform was to be regarded as a personal censure upon them and their brethren. It was a lawful and perfect life which they lived under the rule of the mitigation; it was a lawful life also under the older rule; and though the observance of the latter was a greater perfection than the observance of the former, the perfection was one of degree, not of kind; for the friars were all friars of Carmel. The old Carmelite life under

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, vol. i. p. 272

the rule of St. Albert, mitigated by Innocent IV., was still the Carmelite life under the same rule, though mitigated by Eugenius IV. The intention of St. Teresa was not to condemn the latter, but to restore the former under the same father-general of the order, and the same provincials throughout Spain. The two friars began to order their lives according to the old rule, and to make for themselves certain constitutions founded on the observances which St. John of the Cross had seen in Valladolid, and which were substantially those afterwards adopted in the order when it was firmly established on its severance from the old observance of the mitigation.

Though St. John of the Cross loved his cell, and came out of it with regret, he was now, by the prior, sent to preach in the country round. He had to make fatiguing journeys, and to go to many places far away from the monastery,—travelling always on foot, and his feet were bare, for he wore no sandals then,—in the depth of winter; the ground hardened by frost and covered with snow. He came back to his cell as soon as his work was done, refusing even a morsel of food, however great the distance; and in his cell was hardly a more comfortable place than the roads rough with stones and the briers hidden in the snow.

As no one from the monastery could be spared as his companion on these journeys of charity, he sent to Medina del Campo for his brother Francis, whose

poverty was nearly as great as his, that he might have him with him on the road. One day, after preaching in one of the parish churches, St. John came down from the pulpit and left the church with his brother. The priest continued the Mass, and when it was over, on being told that the preacher had departed for his convent, sent his servant to overtake him, and beg him to return and dine with him. The servant overtook St. John and delivered his message; but the preacher made his excuses and hastened to his monastery, not altogether with the goodwill of his brother, who remonstrated with him, and said it was an uncourteous treatment of the parish priest. St. John said that he was doing the work of God, and did not wish to receive payment from man. So when they came to a well by the wayside, St. John sat down, and holding in his hand a little bread he had taken from the monastery, divided it with his brother, and both dined on bread and water.*

In the beginning of Lent 1569, St. Teresa, about to found a house in Toledo, came to Duruelo from Medina on her way to Avila from Valladolid. She found Fra Antonio sweeping the door of the church; he was a grave and portly friar, nearly sixty years of age, and had been forty years in the order. 'What has become of your dignity?' said St. Teresa to him; and his answer, borrowed from the prophet, was, 'Cursed be

* Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Histor. de la Vida del Fra Juan*, p. 130.

the day wherein I had any.' The saint herself was struck by the poverty of the place, by the resolution and devotion of the friars, and their faithful observance of the rule. But she was alarmed at the penances and the severities of the house, which she regarded as excessive, and which she feared might endanger the reform by shortening the lives of those to whom she had entrusted it. She therefore spoke seriously on the subject to the friars, who, she said, 'having gifts I had not, made light of my advice.' She gave thanks to God, and in her humility confessed their ways to be safe.*

They were bound by the rule to fast from the feast of the Holy Cross in September till Easter in the following year, a continuous fast of six or seven months; but to this they added every Friday between Easter and the feast of the Holy Cross, with the eves of certain feasts on which there is no obligation upon the faithful to fast. They took the discipline in common on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, in addition to the other days which each friar had chosen for himself with the sanction of his superior. Then the silence was almost unbroken, and when they had occasion to communicate with each other, they did so generally by signs. There was also a daily chapter of faults, though the rule required but one in a week.

Such mortification and humility could not remain

* *Foundations*, xiv. § 11

hidden; the people who dwelt around came to the church, and filled the two confessionals, which had been made in a part of the room intended for the dormitory of the fathers. Not poor people only, but the great noblemen in the neighbourhood came to Duruelo, and entrusted their consciences to the friars, whose austere lives were a wonder in the country round. Among those who frequented the monastery was don Luis de Toledo, a near relative of the great duke of Alva, the terror of heretics and the object of their bitter reviling. Don Luis had built a church in Manzera, a town of his jurisdiction, in which he had placed a marvellous picture of our Lady, with the Infant Jesus in her arms, attended by two angels, which had been brought to Spain from Flanders. That church he offered now to the fathers of Duruelo, and with it the means of building a monastery, if they would remove to Manzera. They could not make up their minds to change. Fra Antonio, however, went to preach in Manzera, and again don Luis and his wife, doña Isabel de Leiva, so represented to him the advantages of the place and the unhealthiness of Duruelo, that at last they won the reluctant consent of fra Antonio.

In the meanwhile St. Teresa found means to establish another monastery of friars in Pastrana—she had leave from the general of the order to found two—and fra Antonio went thither from Manzera, in July 1569,

leaving the house of Duruelo under the care of St. John of the Cross; St. Teresa at the same time founding the sixth monastery of her nuns. She had sent to Medina for a nun, Isabel of St. Jerome, and begged the prior of the Carmelites there to send one of the fathers with her and another from Avila. The prior sent with the nuns fra Baltasar of Jesus, who had lately told fra Antonio that he wished to quit the mitigation for the reform. The prior knew nothing of this, and fra Baltasar held his peace; regarding his mission to Pastrana as a grace. On his arrival, he immediately told St. Teresa of his intentions. She was glad, for fra Baltasar was a zealous friar and a great preacher, famous in the order.

Two hermits of the Tardon, in the Sierra Morena, had come to Pastrana to take the habit of our Lady of Mount Carmel; they had been won to the order by St. Teresa soon after Pentecost of this year, when she was in Madrid. The postulants were eager to enter, and would hardly wait for the arrival of fra Antonio. They begged St. Teresa to give them the habit, and as fra Pedro Muriel, the delegate of the provincial, was then in Pastrana, the matter was arranged. The saint and her nuns made the habits, the stuff being given them by the duke of Pastrana, in the oratory of whose house the ceremony took place. Fra Baltasar preached a most moving sermon, and St. Teresa with her own hands gave the habit

to the two hermits, Mariano and Juan de la Miseria, while fra Baltasar, being already a Carmelite, made the change for himself. A few days later fra Antonio arrived, and the three friars now under his jurisdiction took formal possession of their monastery. He remained there about four months, instructing them and training them in the recovered discipline of Carmel. On his departure for Duruelo, he left fra Baltasar of Jesus, as his vicar, to govern the house; for he was a priest, and a man of considerable weight in the order before he renounced the mitigated observance.

In the following Lent, 1570, Fra Antonio was again in Manzera preaching, and also labouring with his hands in building the monastery. When the house was finished he begged the provincial to honour the removal with his presence. Fra Alonso not only came himself, but brought with him other friars, and all went in procession from Duruelo, June 11, to Manzera, when fra Alonso the provincial sung the Mass, and fra Antonio preached, to the great joy of all the people of Manzera, but to the great regret of those who lived in Duruelo, and from whom the friars had gone away.

St. John of the Cross took with him his two novices. One of them was a lay brother, fra Peter of the Angels, who rose to great heights of sanctity, and died as he had lived, in Valladolid, in 1613, outliving

his master for more than twenty years; the other was destined for holy orders, fra Juan Bautista, and was a native of Avila. He was made perfect in a short time, and died in the monastery of La Roda, in 1577.

But in Manzera they had thirteen or fourteen novices, some from the Carmelites of the mitigation, some from the world. Among the latter was a doctor from the university of Salamanca, a learned lawyer and an able man. Grace, however, found a way into his heart, and he left his learned companions in Salamanca with all his worldly gains, and begged to be received among the poor friars of Manzera, where his learning would not be held in great reverence, but where the master of the novices, if not more learned than he, possessed a learning far more profitable than is always taught in universities. One day, whether for the sake of saying something, which is the common weakness of us all, or because the old Adam had got the upper hand, the doctor from Salamanca observed that the library of the house was poorly furnished with certain books. The master of the novices heard the incautious speech, and ordered the cell of the doctor to be cleared of all books whatever, even those of devotion, and then gave him a child's first-book, or primer, in which there were also some elementary instructions on the faith, and with the book he gave him a little rod, such as schoolmasters use in point-

ing out the letters to young children. The learned doctor, who had often disputed in the schools, was to learn his letters like a child, and spell the book through, as if he had never been to school before, because, as the master of the novices said, of his profound ignorance in the matter of Christian perfection.

The novice deserved to have such a master, for he humbled himself; he learnt his lesson like a little child, and gave an account of his progress from day to day with tears of compunction and great tenderness of heart. He persevered in the order, and was a good religious greatly respected, and became even a provincial in it.

The religious in Manzera had a more convenient house to live in; but it wrought no harm to regular observance. The friars lived on the alms of their neighbours, which were sometimes abundant, and at other times scanty; but none of them begged. They remained at home, content with whatever God sent; and if they had nothing, they were still more content. Such was the spirit of their training.

While Manzera throve under the safe guidance of St. John of the Cross, Pastrana was in danger; and fra Antonio, the prior of Manzera and superior also of Pastrana, determined to send thither his sub-prior and master of novices. Accordingly, in October of this year, 1570, St. John of the Cross went to Pas-

trana to instruct the novices there; and fra Pedro Fernandez, the apostolic visitor, made him vicar of the house in the absence of its prior. He took with him from Manzera, as his companion, the lay brother already mentioned, Peter of the Angels, whose prudent conduct and exemplary life would be of great service in the house. The two friars travelled on foot, begging their bread, which they shared with the beggars they met. At night they rested in the poorest places, avoiding great houses wherein women and servants dwelt; and when they found no house poor enough for their lodging, they slept on straw in barns and outhouses, carefully shunning all ease and comfort, keeping in mind His life of pain and travail who had no place to rest His head.* In the novitiate were fourteen persons, four of whom, however, were professed, and all were fervent, men of mortification and prayer. But they needed instruction, and some of them needed restraining; for they were given to excesses unfitted for their state of life. Some of them had been friars of the mitigation, others had left the world for the new Carmel; but there was no one in the house who had been trained under the first novice-master of the reform.

St. John began by explaining to them the intent and meaning of their vocation, the requirements of the rule, the spirit hidden under the letter thereof,

* Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Vida, &c.*, p. 138.

and the great importance of the observances which were the several pathways, guards, and fences of the law of their order. So persuasive was his language, and so winning his ways, that no one heard him unmoved. Carmel flourished, made fruitful by the dew of his words.

In July of this year, 1570, and before St. John went to Pastrana, St. Teresa being there herself, present at the profession of the two friars whom she had won in Madrid, it was resolved that a college should be founded for the order in Alcala de Henares, for the instruction of the friars, and for avoiding all occasions of dispute with those of the mitigation, who also had a college there. St. Teresa was now powerless, for she had leave to found only two monasteries, and these were already founded. The provincial, however friendly, could not help them, for he had no authority in that matter. Application was therefore made to the apostolic visitor, who readily gave his consent, and the duke of Pastrana, the prince Ruy Gomez, coming thither at the time, gave them a sum of money towards the purchase of a house, and promised to endow the college, so that the order should be able to maintain in it at least eighteen students. Fra Francis of the Conception bought a house, and had everything ready by the beginning of October, when fra Baltasar of Jesus, now professed, and prior of Pastrana, went thither to take possession and make

the foundation. The college was opened on the feast of All Saints, and fra Baltasar began to preach in the city. So powerful was his preaching, and so attractive was his mortified life, that the whole university crowded to hear him. Many of the students left the world for the cloister, and some of them went to Pastrana as novices in Carmel, under St. John of the Cross. Fra Baltasar having done his part of the work, to the great regret of the university, resumed his place as prior of Pastrana, and St. John of the Cross was sent to Alcala de Henares as rector of the college which fra Baltasar had just founded, leaving the novices in the care of fra Gabriel of the Assumption, who, unhappily, not long after, was charged with other duties, and the novices were then placed under fra Angel of St. Gabriel,* who did not know how to train them.

In the beginning of the year 1571, the college of our Lady of Carmel in Alcala passed into the hands of the novice-master, who had formed and fashioned Duruelo, Manzera, and Pastrana. It was trained, though a house of studies, as the others had been trained, in the fear of God and perfect detachment from the world. The example and teaching of St. John were not in vain; the students of the house passing to and fro to the lectures of the university, calm, recollected, with downcast eyes, and never in

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, vol. ii. p. 107.

a hurry, attracted the observation of the city, and won its respect. These students of Carmel were a wonder there, barefooted and poorly clad; for the people knew that many of them were wellborn and had been delicately nutured. Their food was poor and scanty, and of the little given them they left some for the poor, and not unfrequently feasted themseles on bread and water. Regular discipline, fasting, watching, and other mortifications humbled the pride of life, and made the understanding captive under the dominion of faith; St. John of the Cross, with unflagging watchfulness, encouraging them in their studies, setting devotion and piety on a higher level than learning; so that from his example it became a saying in the colleges of the order, 'Religious and studious, but religious above all.'

The apostolic visitor, fra Pedro Fernandez of the order of St. Dominic, came at this time to Alcala in the execution of his office. His fellow, seing the austerities of the college—which he considered to be a prison rather than a house of study—begged the visitor to put some limits to the austerities practised therein. Fra Pedro was a wiser man: he would make no change in the order of the house, the fervour of which was to him a comfort and a joy. He told them all not to let their studies be a source of weakness to them in their austerities; for if they died under the severities which they practised, such a death would be

a better sermon than they could ever hope to preach in a pulpit. They would in that way do a greater work for the Church; because the world was full of learning, and empty of works of penance.

While the college in Alcala was growing, the house in Pastrana fell into disorder again. There fra Angel of St. Gabriel, newly made priest, full of zeal, fervent and mortified, but not gifted in the discretion required in a master of novices, had, on the departure of St. John of the Cross, begun to make changes, and to disturb the settled order of the house. He would have all carry the same burden, making no account of age, strength, or temper. A severe life was all he thought of, and he measured all spiritual advancement by the frequency and severity of penitential exercises. He invented new methods of mortification; and the more terrible they were, the more he liked them. Some of these mortifications were public, and undergone in the sight of persons of the world; but, unhappily, that which at first moved men to wonder, and perhaps to compunction, became before long the occasion of jest and mockery. Fra Angel also forgot the rule and spirit of his order; he sent the novices out into the villages to teach the children their catechism, and in doing so made them adopt the ways and manners of members of other orders, who could lawfully do so. He did not consider that the novice in Carmel was primarily called to a life of retirement

and contemplation. He also sent them out to attend funerals; and, still farther departing from the rule and practice of the order, sent them out of the monastery to beg. He was an earnest fiery man of strong will, and his superiors were not able to withstand him, still less to control him.

Fra Antonio of Jesus and other grave fathers, knowing the state of the house in Pastrana, consulted together, and agreed that there was but one help for it—to send the first novice-master of Carmel thither at once. His work in Alcala they felt was important, and it had been well done, and the college was sound and healthy. But even if he had not yet done his work there, they must have sent him to Pastrana, for that had become now the chief novitiate of the order. It was of the last importance, therefore, to bring it again to its former state. St. John of the Cross left Alcala for Pastrana to undo the work of a whole year, and to bring back a whole monastery—for the professed fathers had also been led astray—into the true pathways of the new Carmel.

He came to Pastrana in the beginning of the year 1572, and began his work gently and tenderly. In the first place he put an end to the public humiliations, and then to the singular penances which were done in the house. He brought the monastery back by degrees to the spirit of the rule and the observance of those constitutions which he and fra Antonio had

agreed upon in the beginning when they were together in Duruelo. He showed the novices that their spirit was peculiar—for every vocation has its own means for its own ends—and that they were not to adopt the practices even of the greatest saints if they were not suited to their vocation. Their chief work was prayer and meditation, "dwelling alone in the forest, in the midst of Carmel,"* away from the noise of men; keeping the rule; for a good work, however good, ceased to be a good work in them if it were not a good work according to the rule. Each order in holy Church has its peculiar work and spirit; and confusion alone, with the ruin of vocations, can come out of that spirit of disorder which leads one man to do the work of another.

Fra Angel of St. Gabriel, though a mortified man, was still more mortified when he saw his work undone. He could neither suffer in silence, nor persuade himself that he had made any mistakes. Hurt to the quick by the crumbling of his buildings on the sand, he made a formal complaint to St. Teresa. In the letter he wrote to her, it was not enough for him to describe all that St. John of the Cross had done, but he must also give his reasons for his own conduct, and defend the method he had pursued with the novices. St. Teresa was at this time prioress of the monastery of the incarnation in Avila, where she had been a novice

* Mich. vii. 14.

and a nun herself. She was of one mind with St. John of the Cross, but she was too wise to say so to fra Angel in his then mood; so she sent his letter, with another from herself, to her trusted counsellor fra Dominic Bañes, who was then reader in theology in St. Stephen's, the house of his order in Salamanca, but soon to ascend one of the public chairs in that great university. Father Bañes answered the saint at great length, and wholly in favour of St. John of the Cross. But as that letter shows forth the common sense as well as the spiritual knowledge of that learned Dominican, and is not easily accessible, some may be glad to know its contents. After certain general observations, in which he speaks slightingly of himself, Bañes writes thus:*

'This master of the novices—fra Angel—seems to be a zealous man with good intentions; and as he wishes for light, there is no reason why it should be denied him. May Jesus Christ give it him, and teach him what perfection is! *Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde.* He who is of a meek and humble heart is so wrapt in the mercy of God, knowing the depths of his own wretchedness, that he regards himself as not worthy to breathe the air or to tread the ground, and lives in fear of the justice of God, always afraid that he is sinning against Him. Outward penances and mortifications help us much to attain to this humility;

* *Reforma de los Descalgos*, vol. i. p. 373.

but then they must be done according to that prudence which comes from God, and that prudence lies in obedience to law: our Lord humbled Himself and was obedient. To make a pilgrimage without any other necessity is not a prudent mortification in a friar whose profession binds him to such strict separation from the world as the primitive rule does. As the novices are to be recollected men, the way to train them is not to let them have their own way in mortifications. To copy the fathers of the society is to found another order, and not to build up that of Carmel. These fathers have no distinguishing habit; their profession is not that of separation from the world; they are not bound to silence and fasting, and never meet in choir; their work is in the world, conversing with all, teaching the Christian doctrine; nor is it anything out of the way that they should do so.

'But the friar and the monk are under no necessity to seek for practices which are strange to their order. Let them follow their profession and be silent; and they will become saints without letting the world know of their mortifications. I do not think much of those men who are zealous for the edification of their neighbours. It is said of St. Francis that men took him for a fool; that he stripped himself, and put on clothes fit only for the poorest of men: I respect that because it was the work of the Holy Ghost; but to

copy actions of this kind, which are rare, is acting a part. St. Francis at this time wore no religious habit, belonged to no order, and had taken no vows; his conduct was prudent in the state he was in.

'If this father says in reply that he feels himself moved to do acts of this kind, I would rather he made trial of other ways which are more sanctioned by the Church. Let people fast and watch, as the saints did. They cannot. That is their answer, and they are in the right: for they have not the spirit of the saints. Then let them be certain of this: if they are moved by the Spirit of God to such extremities of penance as these, they must first of all test themselves in fasting, watchings, and prayer.

'The father says that he shall become melancholy if he is thwarted. I do not like that. He is too much attached to novelties and untried ways. If he wishes for mortifications, here is a real one for him: let him believe that he has made a mistake.

'I beg you, however, to console him, and advise him to practise obedience and be silent. Our Lord kept silence for more than thirty years, and preached but for two. I hope you will send him this my letter, and ask him to believe that I wish to serve him in his zeal. May our Lord give us the light of His grace, and keep you in it!

'Your servant in Christ,

'FRA. DOMINGO BAÑES.

'St. Stephen's, Salamanca,
'April 23, 1572.'

Francis de Yepes, the brother of St. John, came to Pastrana by the invitation of the latter, who gave him work in the garden of the monastery; and when the duke of Pastrana came to visit the master of the novices, his attention was directed to Francis in his poor clothes and in his daily work by St. John himself. To humble himself the more before the great benefactor of his order, he was careful to tell him that his brother was poor and that he earned his bread by the labour of his hands. He did this on all occasions when anybody came to pay him visits of ceremony or politeness, contriving some how or other to mortify himself by showing his brother at work.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1572—1574.

St. Teresa sends for St. John of the Cross to Avila—Reformation of the monastery—Illness of a nun—Trances—Exorcisms—A learned nun—Conversion of sinners—The saint goes to Segovia—The vicar-general threatens him with imprisonment.

BEFORE St. John of the Cross went to Pastrana, and while he was still in Alcala de Henares, St. Teresa had been sent by the apostolic visitor, fra Pedro Fernandes, of the order of St. Dominic, to the monastery of the incarnation in Avila, as prioress of that house. The nuns were unwilling to receive her, partly because they feared they might be compelled to adopt the primitive rule. Notwithstanding the opposition of the nuns, the saint in October 1571, against her own will, constrained by her vow of obedience, entered and took possession of the stall of the prioress, and, winning by degrees the affections of the discontented nuns, changed the state of the monastery.

But in order to do her work the more surely, and leave durable traces of her presence behind, she asked the visitor for St. John of the Cross as confessor of the monastery. The visitor assented gladly, and the

saint came without delay, having with him another friar, German of St. Mathias, as his companion. The visitor lodged them in a small house close to the monastery of the incarnation, where they could live in peace, withdrawn from the tumult of the city and the concourse of idle men. This was in the spring of 1572.

The great holiness of St. John of the Cross, hitherto hidden and known to few, began now to be spoken of outside the order; the nuns of the incarnation gave him their confidence without any reservation, and changed the order of their lives. St. Teresa had put an end to the great distractions which were the results of too many visits to the monastery on the part of seculars, and St. John of the Cross made the work perfect, by stopping directly and indirectly the confessions which the nuns made to priests who, if they were not lax themselves, were without the courage and the will to correct the laxity of the nuns, by forbidding the frequent resort to the parlours. He dealt with the nuns gently and tenderly, but with unfailing firmness, and by degrees the community under the government of St. Teresa, though not keeping the rule which the prioress and the two confessors observed, became a most edifying and recollected house; and the saint herself, in a letter written September 27, 1572, to her sister Doña Juana, says: 'The barefooted friar who is confessor here is doing great things; he is fra John of the Cross.'

Not long after St. John came to the incarnation one of the nuns, Doña Maria de Yera, was seized with sickness, and, before the greatness of her danger was suspected by the nuns, became insensible. They then recognised the danger, and sent for St. John of the Cross to administer the last Sacraments. But before he entered the monastery the nun was dead, to the extreme grief of her sisters, one of whom, as he was entering the infirmary, reproached him in the bitterness of her sorrow as if he had been to blame. 'Is this the way,' she said to him, 'you take care of your children? This one has died unconfessed.' The holy man made no answer, but turned back and went straight to the church, where before the Most Holy he made known his distress, and begged humbly for help.

After some considerable time the nuns sent him word that their sister was restored to life, whereupon he left the church, and on the way meeting the nun who had spoken to him before, said only these words, 'My child, are you satisfied?' He then went up to the infirmary, heard the nun's confession, and gave her the last Sacraments; then when he had done for her all that could be done, God took her to Himself.

He was kind to these poor nuns in every way, and indeed they were much to be pitied; for the monastery was very large and very poor, the nuns more than a hundred in number, and occasionally in distress,

wanting both food and raiment. They may be said to have had poverty without the merits thereof, for they were not bound so strictly as the barefooted nuns of the reform. St. John of the Cross took compassion on them even in their outward distresses; for one day seeing a nun in a habit utterly unsuited to her, because of its extreme worthlessness, he went out and begged the means of supplying her with another, for the monastery was too poor to do so.

In the year 1573, on the octave of St. Martin, as St. Teresa tells us, he mortified that saint in the very act of communion. St. Teresa liked to receive large hosts, and had said so to St. John of the Cross. So he, the great teacher of perfect detachment, gave a lesson to the foundress of the new Carmel, and on that day divided the host between her and one of the nuns, because, as she says, 'he wished to mortify me.'*

It was in the parlour of the incarnation that the nuns saw with their own eyes the concurrent ecstasies of the two great saints to whose care they had been committed. Beatriz of Jesus, one of the sisters, but who afterwards left that house, became a barefooted nun, and died in the monastery of Ocana, went to the parlour on Trinity Sunday with a message for the prioress. To her great amazement, she saw St. Teresa raised in the air, unconscious of her presence. She

* *Life of St. Teresa*, Relation iii. § 19.

withdrew and called other nuns in, who all became witnesses of the same marvel. On the other side of the grating they saw St. John of the Cross, also raised above the ground in the same way. The mystery was explained to them afterwards. The two saints had begun by speaking of the most blessed Trinity, and had fallen in a trance together. St. Teresa said afterwards that it was impossible for any one to speak of God to St. John of the Cross, for either he or the other fell into a trance. On another occasion, when the two saints were conversing together, he rose from his seat, trying to hide from her what was coming on; and when she asked him if it was the beginning of a trance, he replied simply, 'I think it is.'

Calmly and quietly he did his work among the nuns, who had hitherto, for many reasons, been but indifferently governed: they were very many, and the house was very poor, nevertheless by degrees they were brought back to more regular observance, and gave up their unnecessary recreations and many practices unseemly in the cloister. The world outside became conscious of the change within, and felt that saints were standing by. 'The city is amazed,' wrote St. Teresa, 'at the exceedingly great good he has done there, and people take him for a saint; and in my opinion he is one, and has been one all his life.'*

* Lett. 170, to Don. Philip II., Dec. 4, 1577.

He was now sought for throughout Avila, for his great gift of spiritual direction. Troubled consciences, unquiet scruples, all yielded before him; and those whom melancholy or delusions had led astray were, by his skilful guiding, brought back to the true ways of the spirit. Religious houses sent for him, and were by him wondrously sustained: for his words were words of heavenly wisdom, not found in the land of those whose life is pleasant.

In a monastery in Avila, at this time, lived a nun around whom satan had thrown his net. Her state was most pitiable, and her distress almost unbearable, for she was tempted by the spirit of blasphemy, doubt, and uncleanness. St. John of the Cross was sent to her monastery. She revealed to him the whole story of her dismal temptations. He discerned the source of her troubles and applied the fitting remedies, while she on her part accepted them and was delivered from her distress. But no sooner had he left her than the evil spirit returned to the assault. To do his work the more effectually, he came disguised in the likeness of St. John of the Cross, sent for the nun to the confessional, and there plied her with his deadly teaching. The next day came the servant of God himself, and heard the confession of the poor nun, who had been more at her ease, she said, because she had obeyed his direction given the night before, and made less earnest resistance to the temptations by which she

was tormented. The servant of God recognised the deceit of the tempter, and told her that he had not given her any directions the day before, and that he had not been near the monastery. The saint then gave her certain instructions in writing, which she was carefully to observe, and went his way. Immediately afterwards the nun received another letter, containing further instructions, but of a different kind, in the handwriting of the saint, and signed with his name—so at least it appeared to the nun. She was told in that letter that the former instructions required some correction, because they demanded of her a more vigilant watchfulness than was fitting for her state, seeing that a certain degree of liberty was necessary for the avoidance of scrupulosity, and for the greater quiet of her conscience. The handwriting and signature of the saint were counterfeited so skilfully that he himself, when he saw them, admitted them to be his, though he recognised the forgery in the teaching—that was satan's not his. Seeing now that the poor nun was a puppet in the hand of the evil one, the saint had recourse to the exorcisms of holy Church, and thereby delivered her from the great peril she was in.

In another monastery he wrought another cure of a more marvellous nature still—that of a nun who amazed everybody by her learning. She could speak many languages, and was versed in what is called the

arts and the sciences. She could dispute in theology with the most learned theologian, and her knowledge was so wonderful that people began to think that her science was infused. Grave doctors regarded her with reverence, for they were afraid to suspect her, and incur the guilt of rash judgment. But as all that is singular in religion is almost always suspicious, her superiors became at last uneasy about her, and resolved to have her spirit tested by St. John of the Cross. He was most unwilling to undertake the task: his sole desire was to be left alone in his poor cottage near the monastery of the incarnation, and to be forgotten of men.

He consented, however, to see the nun; but before doing so prepared himself by earnest prayer and penance, his usual armour, and then, committing the issues to our Lord, went to the monastery. The nun came to the parlour, where the saint was waiting for her, but the moment she saw him she began to quake with a sudden fear, and her tongue, usually so fluent, refused its office. She could speak no language but her own in the presence of the saint, and all her knowledge had departed from her. Her superiors seeing this, and now fully persuaded that she was in the toils of satan, and a source of indefinite danger to the religious around her, begged the saint to perfect the work he had thus begun. Compassionating the poor soul before him, he yielded to their request, and exorcised

the nun. The dumb spirit that had taken possession of her had to yield his prey, and to reveal the whole story of that long possession. The unhappy nun from her very earliest years had been vain and foolish, and fond of human applause. The wicked spirit took advantage of her curiosity, appeared before her, though she did not know at the time what the vision meant, and seized upon her imagination by his evil beauty. She herself was naturally quick, lively, and witty; but conscious of her ignorance, and ashamed of it, she coveted knowledge to enable her to shine the more. This the devil promised her, on the condition of her promising on her part to become his bride. The foolish girl thus in the power of the evil one, became more and more careless about her soul, and at last began to hate God and His service, and to wish that others also might do so.

How she came to the monastery is not known. Whether her parents were too poor to marry her, or whether the devil tempted her for his own ends to feign a vocation she had not, remains a secret. But the monastery had received her with joy, for her fame was spread abroad; and the nuns among whom she lived had no suspicion of the dangers they were in till the wiles of the enemy were discovered, and the evil spirits confessed their hateful presence. St. John spoke to the nun of the mercy of God, and enlightened her understanding while moving her will. She, too,

became aware of her danger, and undertook to do all that was in her power to free herself from this visible dominion of the devil.

St. John went home to the monastery of the incarnation, but before long he was inwardly admonished to return to the house where the possessed nun was living: for the evil spirit, unwilling to confess himself beaten, had knocked at the gate of the monastery, in the disguise of St. John of the Cross, and asked to see the nun in the parlour, saying that he had something to say to her which he had forgotten. The portress, suspecting nothing, opened the door and allowed him to enter, and the nun came to the parlour, where she found the evil one, who, having transformed himself into an angel of light, and, for his wicked ends, put on the likeness of St. John of the Cross, spoke to her of the grievous nature of her sins, of the impossibility of forgiveness, and of the power of the devil to compel her to continue in his service. The poor nun was utterly cast down, and her distress was the greater because a few hours before St. John of the Cross, whom she believed to be then present, had spoken to her of the compassion of God, and encouraged her to do the works of penance, trusting in His mercy.

St. John now arrived at the monastery, asked to see the nun. The portress replied that it was not possible, because she was at the moment in the parlour with fra John of the Cross. 'How can that be?' said the

holy man. 'If I am John of the Cross, he who is in the parlour cannot be so.' The portress, amazed, opened the door, and allowed him to enter. He went straight to the parlour, and the moment he came in the evil spirit vanished. The portress had meanwhile told the story to some of the nuns, and these hurried into the parlour, where, however, they saw nothing but the nun bitterly weeping, in great distress of mind. The saint now exorcised her, and commanded the evil spirits, in the name of God, not only to confess how they came to have such power over that poor soul, but also to let go their prey, and cease from troubling her any more. The devil, overcome, told the whole tale of the possession, and moreover gave up the contract by which the nun was bound to him. All this took place in the presence not of the nuns only, but of certain secular persons also, who came at that time into the house.

His power over evil spirits caused the prioress of Medina del Campo to beg St. Teresa to send him thither. There was a nun in the house there so grievously afflicted with melancholy, that her sisters were afraid her disease was not natural. St. John went thither from the monastery of the incarnation, and having spoken to the nun, pronounced her disorder akin to folly: in the course of time, his decision was found to be true. St. Teresa sent a letter at the

same time to the prioress, Ines of Jesus, her cousin, in which she says: 'I send you fra John of the Cross, to whom God has given grace to drive evil spirits away; he has now here in Avila put to flight three legions of devils, whom in the name of God he commanded to tell their number, and he was obeyed on the instant.'*

Not the devil only, but the world also was subject to his power. There was then in Avila a young lady, beautiful, wealthy, and noble born, but whose daily life was a scandal because of her vanity and the extravagance of her dress. The young men of the city, captivated by her beauty, and under the spell of her manners, flocked around her whenever they could, to the great terror of her friends and relatives, who were alarmed at the freedom of her life, for they were jealous of her honour. They implored her to go to confession to St. John of the Cross. It was their only hope of saving her from imminent ruin. She heeded them not, and steadily refused to go near a confessor whom she knew to be unlikely to allow her to continue her amusements. But her friends persisted, and at last she consented to make a confession to the man of God. This was more than her friends had hoped for latterly, for they begged her now only to speak to the father as so many did; some, indeed, out of curiosity rather than out of devotion.

* Lett. 30; the date is not known, but probably written when St. Teresa was prioress of the incarnation.

She went to the church and to the confessional, out of which she hardly expected to come forth alive, so much did she fear him; for she knew nothing of him but his austerities and unworldly life so unlike her own. He heard her confession, and spoke so gently to her, that she was seized with amazement, and resolved to return to the same confessional. She did so, and changed her life, putting aside her rich dresses, avoiding idle company and light amusements, doing penance and wearing sackcloth. Her conversion was a joy not only to her family, but to the whole city; and the rest of her life, from that day forward, edified her neighbours more than her former excesses of untamed spirits had offended them.

The world felt the power of that holiness which was growing in secret in the poor cottage against the wall of the monastery, but it knew in reality little or nothing of the unearthly life led within it; of the long vigils, of the sharp discipline and of the still sharper discipline of perpetual watchfulness over every idle thought, in order to avoid the idle word that bringeth judgment in its train.

Two other conversions are recorded, both wonderful and both effectual, wrought by his ministry while he was confessor of the nuns of the incarnation in Avila

One was that of a nun who had gone far astray, and who had become a scandal in the city. She had set aside the obligations of her state, led a worldly

life, conversing with seculars, and wasting her time in unprofitable amusements, and even worse. At last her conscience was seriously disturbed, and she went to confession to St. John of the Cross. The servant of God heard her patiently, while she told him the whole story of her misspent life. The poor nun returned to her cell fully resolved to serve God only for the rest of her days, and broke off from all her former levities. But one of those who too often frequented the parlour of her monastery, a wealthy and powerful personage in Avila, was not pleased at her conversion. She never would see him or any other idler as of old, and accordingly he resolved upon revenge. He knew well enough whose influence had been stronger than his, so he waited one night near the monastery of the incarnation, for the coming forth of St. John of the Cross from the confessional of the church, according to his wont. The saint came out and was going towards his house, when this man fell upon him, and beat him so cruelly that he was nearly dead. Though he knew who it was, and knew too why he was thus insulted, he never complained, and never said who it was that had thus been so merciless to him. But he did say afterwards to some of his brethren that he never was so happy in all his life as he was then, suffering for the sake of justice, and that the blows of the angry man were as sweet to him as the shower of stones to St. Stephen the first martyr.

The other conversion was that of a young lady of a noble house in Avila, with great gifts of mind and body. She was a penitent of the saint, and lived near the monastery of the incarnation. Satan pursued her with special malignity, and in the end brought her to the very brink of ruin. She gave up the battle as lost, and yielded to her unwearied tempter. One night, as the servant of God was in prayer in his house, he was surprised by the sudden apparition before him of his penitent. He trembled with fear, and signed himself with the sign of the cross, for he believed that satan himself stood before him. The miserable girl, divining his thoughts, told him he need not be afraid; it was she herself, his penitent, and not the devil, who had thus come into a room where she ought not to set her foot. She then told him that she had been tempted sorely, and that she had resolved to fight no longer; the attractions of sin had prevailed over the terrors of the judgment to come. The holy man heard her with horror, and then, lifting up his eyes to God, and full of the most compassionate zeal, spoke to the miserable woman of the terrible judgment of God upon sinners, and of the inevitable penalties which awaited her. She was moved at last, and bursting into tears of true contrition, fell upon her knees and cried to God for pardon. He then sent her away as quickly as he could, reserving for another time, and a more fitting place, her perfect reconciliation with God.

In March 1574, St. Teresa took the saint with her from Avila to Segovia, where she was to found her ninth monastery of nuns. On the road, Julian, who accompanied the saint, as usual, asked her for the license of the bishop, who was then absent. She had nothing but the word of the bishop, and Julian foresaw trouble from the vicar-general. St. Teresa, however, determined to proceed, and found the house without reference to the vicar. She entered Segovia during the night, and made the chapel ready for Mass, which was said early in the next morning by Julian of Avila. When this was done, a nephew of the bishop, don Juan de Orosco y Covarruvias de Leyva,* archdeacon of Cuellar and a canon, passed by the house on his way from the palace to the cathedral, and, seeing the cross, made inquiries, and was told that the house was a monastery of Carmelites. He went into the chapel, and having prayed for some time, asked leave to say Mass.

While he was at the altar, the vicar-general, who had heard by this time of St. Teresa's act, came in great wrath, and threatened to put in prison the priest who had said Mass. Julian of Avila hid himself under the staircase, but St. John of the Cross remained, and was asked by the vicar who had reserved the Most Holy. He threatened to put him in prison, but he did not do so, knowing he had no jurisdiction over the

* See chap. xvi.

friar. It would have been otherwise with Julian of Avila, who was a secular priest.*

The vicar knew all the time that the bishop had given his consent, and his anger was caused by his being neglected by St. Teresa. He punished her by forbidding the reservation of the Most Holy, which was within his right, but the monastery was safe. Don Juan de Orosco helped the saint to pacify the angry vicar, and remained a friend of the Carmelites. The foundation was made on the Feast of St. Joseph, and Mass was also said by St. John of the Cross.† For this the vicar-general threatened to put him in prison; but he did not execute his threat, and the saint returned in safety to Avila.

* Julian de Avila. Vida de Santa Teresa, p. 273. Madrid, 1881.

† Foundations of St. Teresa, chap. xxi. § 3; but St. Teresa does not give the name of the "bare-footed friar" who was with her, but was not the priest, as it seems from the account of that day's work by Julian of Avila, who said the first Mass.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1575—1577.

The friars of the mitigation—Fra Jerome Tostado—Chapter of the mitigation—Decrees against the reform—Fra Jerome of the Mother of God—Chapter of Almadovar—Death of the Nuncio—Troubles in the monastery of the incarnation—St. John of the Cross made a prisoner.

WHILE St. John of the Cross was living in Avila, and before the priorate of St. Teresa in the monastery of the incarnation had come to an end, the friars of the mitigation struck their first blow at the reform of Carmel. They had been under the government of visitors apostolic since the year 1570, two Dominican friars; these visitors were friendly to the reform, and, as the friars believed, unfriendly to them. It was necessary, therefore, if they were to do anything in their own defence, and save the order from being reformed, to be delivered out of the hands of the visitors, and be placed again under their own general. Accordingly they represented their condition to his Holiness the Pope, and obtained from him, August 3, 1574, a brief cancelling the faculties of the visitors. They were in no hurry, however, to hasten the fight, and waited patiently till Pentecost 1575, when the general chapter of the order assembled in Piacenza, in the duchy of Parma, determined to destroy the reform of St. Teresa.

In that memorable chapter the fathers of the order decreed the suppression of all the monasteries of friars in Spain which had been founded without the sanction of the general, and every one who should resist this decree was to be regarded as a rebel, and to suffer the penalties of his rebellion.

Now as the general's sanction was really confined to the house of Duruelo, removed to Manzera, and that of Pastrana, the decree closed six or seven houses, and destroyed the reform throughout Andalucia, whither it had been lately carried. Fra Jerome Tostado, a Portuguese, an able, shrewd, and courageous friar, was appointed visitor of Spain, and charged with the execution of this decree by the general chapter of the order.

His instructions were given him, and he set out for Spain. Conscious of his strength, he made no haste, but came slowly and with deliberation to do his work. But the friars of the reform knew the danger they were in, and made their own preparations for the coming fight. The powers of the Nuncio were not touched by the brief; to him, therefore, they applied, for he had always been their friend. He, also, having first consulted the Holy See, and having ascertained that his hands were not tied, made fra Jerome of the Mother of God visitor of Andalucia, and superior also of the friars and nuns of the reform of St. Teresa. That was done August 3 1575, within three months of the assembling

of the chapter in Piacenza. By this act of the Nuncio the reform was secured, and the vicar of the general, fra Jerome Tostado, was ousted of the most important part of his jurisdiction before he set his foot on the soil of Spain. The friars of the mitigation, however, were not frightened, and the first blow was struck in November of this year, 1575, by the provincial of Castille, fra Angel de Salazar, who sent the friar Miguel de Ulloa to Seville, with instructions to stop all further foundations of the reform, and to tell St. Teresa that she was to confine herself—such were the orders of the chapter—to any one of her own monasteries at her choice. In a word, she was to be a prisoner for the present. Then, either at the end of the year or early in 1576, the prior of the Carmelites in Avila, father Valdemoro, removed from the monastery of the incarnation St. John of the Cross and fra German of St. Mathias, to the 'exceeding great scandal of the city,' writes St. Teresa. The Nuncio was appealed to, and he ordered them to be brought back, forbidding at the same time the friars of the mitigation to hear the confessions of the nuns, or even to say Mass in that monastery,* from which they had carried away St. John of the Cross.

In March 1576, fra Jerome Tostado was in Barcelona, and on May 12th a chapter of the old observance was

* Lett. 71, without date, but written from Seville in the beginning of 1576; and Lett. 170, to Don Philip II., Dec. 4, 1577. Lett. St. Teresa.

held in Moraleja, to which the priors of Manzera and Pastrana, with the rector of Alcala, all of the reform, were summoned. These houses were recognised because founded with the consent of the general; but the priors of six houses were not summoned, because they were regarded as rebels and strangers to the order, living in houses which the general had never sanctioned.

The prior of Pastrana and the rector of Alcala suspected some mischief, and therefore before going to the chapter consulted the Nuncio of his Holiness in Madrid, to whom they made known their suspicions, and showed the letters by which they had been summoned. The Nuncio advised them to attend the chapter, but to give their consent to nothing that might be decreed against the reform, or against the person of fra Jerome of the Mother of God, whom he had made superior of the barefooted friars, and visitor of the province of Andalucia.

The friars of the old observance decreed, in spite of the remonstrances of the three friars of the reform, that there should be in future no difference in the habits worn in the order; that the barefooted friars should wear shoes, cease to be called barefooted, and be known as contemplatives; that the friars of the mitigated observance and of the reform should dwell as brethren in the same house, each following his own rule, but living together, as if there were nothing to distinguish

them one from the other; and that none of the houses of the order should be regarded as shut against the observants on the one hand, or against the contempla tives on the other.

The intention of the friars was plain enough: they hoped, by compelling all to dwell together as if there were no difference between them, to bring the more earnest friars, by the contagion of example, back again to the more easy life of the mitigated rule.

The friars of the reform were bound not to give way, for they had their own superior given them by the Nuncio of his Holiness, and accordingly they made preparations to defend themselves. Their superior, fra Jerome of the Mother of God, summoned the priors of the reform to Almodovar del Campo, where they met August 8 1576, and with them St. John of the Cross, who was still the confessor of the nuns of the incarnation. They elected a council to assist the provincial—so was fra Jerome called by the Nuncio—and of that council, the first chosen was fra Antonio of Jesus. They also resolved to send two of the fathers to Rome, to defend them against the charges which the friars of the mitigation had brought against them. But the state of the order was so full of peril at this time that the two fathers could not be spared, and so they never went.

In the same assembly a question was raised about the rule and the constitutions. Fra Antonio and St.

John of the Cross had agreed in Duruelo upon certain things, and fra Jerome of the Mother of God, as provincial and visitor appointed by the Nuncio, had made certain decrees for the good government of the order. The chief friars, meeting together in chapter for the first time, could not refrain from discussing the end for which the reform was begun, and the means by which that end was to be reached.

Now, according to the letters of the general received by St. Teresa, and in virtue of which she founded the house in Duruelo, which was the birthplace of the order, the friars of the reform were to be contemplatives, and their active work was to be subordinate to the higher work unto which God had called them. They were to be like the nuns, so far as possible—given to retirement and prayer.

Fra Jerome was of another mind, and in this assembly of Almodovar spoke at some length to the fathers, insisting on the fact that the order was mendicant; he persuaded his brethren that they were therefore as much bound to succour their neighbours as they were bound to their cells and to prayer. Most of the friars who had formerly professed the mitigated rule were easily convinced of the truth of this doctrine, and fra Antonio himself agreeing with him, the assembly was almost of one mind.

But St. John of the Cross understood the reform in another sense, and rose up amidst his brethren to

combat the opinions which most of them adopted. He admitted the fact that they were mendicants, and that they owed, therefore, a debt to their neighbour; they were bound to share with him what God gave to them in prayer. But charity must be in order; the first duty of the friars was to keep the rule, by which they are required to abide in their cells, meditating night and day in the law of God, unless reasonably hindered. As for preaching out of the monasteries and hearing confessions, there were orders in holy Church to whom these good works specially belonged, and he begged his brethren not to undo the work so happily begun by sanctioning practices which made silence and prayer so difficult. He could not prevail against the provincial and fra Antonio; the latter was an old man now, and greatly respected by his brethren.

It cannot be denied that the servant of God spoke most truly of the end for which he and the others had begun a new congregation within the order. He had been with St. Teresa for some time for the very purpose of learning from her that which he was to teach to the novices. If anybody understood the spirit and ways of the new Carmel, it was St. Teresa herself, and from her we know that the Carmelites are called to a life of prayer and contemplation,* and that is what St. John of the Cross always insisted on.

This was the beginning of fra Jerome's troubles,

* *St. Teresa, Moradas*, liv. v. c. 1. §§ 2.

and the beginning also of great troubles in the whole order. The chapter decreed according to the proposition of the provincial, and then dissolved; St. John of the Cross returning to the monastery of the incarnation in Avila.

In the next year 1577, in the month of June, the Nuncio of his Holiness, Monsignore Ormaneto, died, to the great grief of the friars of the reform, for he had been faithful and constant in their defence. His successor, Monsignore Sega, who arrived in August, was known to be unfriendly to them, believing them to be rebellious friars who were bringing in novelties to the ruin of the order. He had unfortunately given credit to men interested or deceived, and had conceived an evil opinion of St. Teresa herself; he thought she was nothing else but a restless and dissatisfied nun, who could not be quiet in her monastery. At the same time two friars of the reform, Miguel de la Columna, and the zealous friar who had done so much in the order, Fra Baltasar of Jesus, were won over by the friars of the mitigation, and were weak enough to bring hateful charges against St. Teresa and their superior, fra Jerome of the Mother of God. Fra Miguel soon repented, and withdrew the charges; and before witnesses, in the presence of a notary. Sept. 4 1577, in Pastrana, declared that he had even signed the papers in which they were recorded without first reading them. Fra Baltasar also, in a letter

to fra Jerome, expressed his sorrow for what he had done, confessing that he had been carried away by passion, and begged for forgiveness. He was forgiven and readmitted, but without either active or passive voice, by the definitors in the chapter held in Valladolid, in April 1587, when the famous Doria, fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, was provincial.* But the order never trusted him again, and never raised him to any dignity in it. His after life was most edifying, however, and full of consolation to his brethren. He died in the house in Lisbon, in the year 1589.†

The Nuncio no doubt believed there was some truth at least in these miserable accusations, and his anger was not lessened when the 'restless woman,' as he once called St. Teresa, was elected prioress of the incarnation in October, by fifty-five nuns against forty-four who were in favour of Doña Ana of Toledo, one of the nuns in the house. The fifty nuns regarded as rebellious were by the provincial excommunicated, and were refused leave to enter the choir even when nobody was there; all communications with their

* He was the son of Domenico and Maria Doria, born in Genoa, May 18th 1539. Came to Seville where he was a prosperous and respected merchant. Moved by divine grace, he settled his affairs, gave 48,000 ducats to the poor, and applied himself to learning, and was ordained priest. Became a novice in Carmel of the reform, March 25 1579, and was professed March 25 1580.

† *Reforma*, i. p. 648, ii. p. 352. *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 165 and 166, written in October 1577.

friends and relatives were interdicted, and they were not allowed to hear Mass.*

The nuns submitted at last to the prioress elected by the minority and confirmed by the vicar of the general, fra Jerome Tostado, who, to his credit, in spite of the king's opposition, persisted in fulfilling his duty. Fra Jerome Tostado then sent the prior of Toledo, fra Fernando Maldonado, to absolve the nuns and to make peace in the monastery. That prior had other instructions also, which he faithfully obeyed. He was, it possible, to detach St. John of the Cross from the reform, and failing that, to put him in prison as a disobedient friar. Father Maldonado's instructions could not be kept secret, and the friars elected St. John prior of Manzera, to save him from the risk he was running at the incarnation. He, too, knew his danger and the troubles before him, for one day he said to Doña Ana Maria, a holy nun of the incarnation, that he should be taken and made to suffer much; to which she replied, not believing him, that his suffering could not be long, because he was not strong enough to bear any. He was stronger than she thought he was, for he outlived the cruel treatment of his imprisonment.

Father Fernando Maldonado began by tempting the saint to return to the old observance, which he had

* *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 166, October 1577, to the prioress of Seville.

abandoned nine years before. He represented to him that the reform was a scandal in itself, a slur on the good name of the order, a life full of spiritual dangers, because it was so new. St. John could not be moved, so fra Fernando made up his mind to use force, and take him with him to prison in Toledo, where he was prior.

Somehow or other his resolution to use violence became known, and some of the chief men in Avila, with certain relatives of the nuns, kept watch around the poor cottage of the two friars. Father Maldonado remained quiet, and by degrees the watch was discontinued. Thereupon the friar, on the night of Dec. 3, went with a band of armed men to the cottage, though the two friars neither did, nor wished to, offer any resistance; once in his power, they were gagged and bound. Having secured his prey, father Maldonado took them to the monastery of the friars for the night; but before shutting them in their cells, he had them severely disciplined, as rebel children of their mother.*

The next morning the prior sent for St. John of the Cross, intending to obtain some information from him. The saint left his cell, which was also his prison, guarded by his gaolers, and was led into the place where the prior was making his thanksgiving after Mass. There he was left: and he, seeing the

* *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 173, Dec. 10 1577, to the prioress of Seville.

door open, went out of the house to secure certain papers left behind in the little cottage, and which seem to have escaped the search of Father Maldonado. His absence was at last observed, and some of the friars followed him in all haste; but he was in the house, and, having locked the door, had time to destroy the papers.

He was now to be taken to Toledo, but his companion, fra German of St. Mathias, was to be sent to Moraleja.* In order to depart the more easily out of Avila, father Maldonado made the saint change his habit and cover his feet, as if he were a friar of the old observance. But when the disguise was effected, St. John simply observed that he was still a friar of the reform. The religious to whom he was committed hated the reform, and to show his hatred, treated his prisoner harshly on the road. His companion, however, was a secular, was more compassionate, and determined to help St. John to escape. He found an opportunity of making his resolution known to the prisoner, but the only answer he got from St. John of the Cross was, that the friar did not treat him half so harshly as he deserved; he hoped, therefore, that he would not trouble himself further about him.

* St. Teresa, writing to Mary of St. Joseph, prioress of Seville, Dec. 10, Lett. 173, says: 'The prior of Avila has taken fra German to St. Paul's in Moraleja, and when he came back he told the nuns who are of his party, that he had put that traitor in a place of safety: they say that on the road blood flowed from his mouth.'

The layman, however, was not so easily deceived. When they came to the inn where they were to lodge that night, he went to the host, and having told him what he had observed, said that he believed the prisoner to be a great saint, and that he wished to set him free. The innkeeper entered into the plan, and told St. John of the Cross that means of escape would be found for him during the night. It was all in vain; the holy man told him, as he had told the other, that he had no wish to escape—he was a willing prisoner in the hands of his gaoler.

The prisoner arrived in Toledo, calm and joyous of heart, for he was reaping the fruit of many prayers. His judges were waiting for him in the monastery of the incarnation of the old observance. They were angry, not just, judges, and their passion and prejudice prevailed. They were satisfied that the prisoner was guilty before they heard his defence.

The seizure of the two friars filled Avila with dismay, but nobody could give any help, for father Maldonado's plans had been too skilfully laid. St. Teresa was at this time in her own monastery of St. Joseph in that city; herself in disgrace, but not disheartened. Unable to learn where the prisoners were hid by their persecutors, she wrote at once to the king, don Philip II., begging for help. 'I would rather,' she said, 'he were in the hands of the Moors, for they perhaps would be more

merciful; and this friar, who is so great a servant of God, is so enfeebled by his great sufferings that I fear for his life.'*

These were not the only prisoners who had to endure the scourge of persecution. This energetic prior of Toledo, fra Fernando Maldonado, had laid his hands in the summer on fra Antonio of Jesus, who with St. John of the Cross had begun the reform of Carmel in Duruelo. He and fra Jerome of the Mother of God had attended St. Teresa on her journey from Toledo to Avila in August, and on his return the prior had him apprehended as an apostate and rebel friar; his apostasy and rebellion being his resolution to observe the primitive rule, renouncing that of the mitigation. Thus at the close of this year, 1577, the reform of Carmel began by St. Teresa was under a thick cloud; the Nuncio of his Holiness being among its enemies.

* Lett. 170, Dec. 4 1577.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1578.

Trial—Imprisonment—Hardships of the prison—Adonde Te escondiste—Light in the cell—Vision of our Lady—Preparations for escape.

THE next day the prisoner appeared before his judges, friars of the old observance, empowered by the vicar of the order in Spain to try him. The acts of the general chapter held in Piacenza were produced, and he was then pressed to return to the observance which he had quitted nine years before. His judges promised not only to forgive and forget the past, but also to treat him with great honour, and raise him to the high offices of the order. If he refused to submit, he would be regarded as a rebellious friar, and subjected to the penalties with which all religious orders visit their contumacious children.

The man of God heard them in all patience, and then with great humility replied that it was impossible for him to do that which they required of him. The reform to which he belonged was lawfully established, with the consent of the general, by the visitors apostolic and the Nuncio of his Holiness; he was bound, therefore, to persevere under obedience to an authority higher than theirs, for the authority of the Pope is

greater than that of the general chapter. He admitted that he was in their power, and that they could punish him; he was ready and willing to bear his burden, though he was not legally subject to their jurisdiction. His superior was fra Jerome of the Mother of God.

The friars of the mitigation were within their own right; so they thought; honestly believing that they were justified in imprisoning St. John of the Cross under the authority of the general. The new Nuncio also favoured them and wished to crush the reform as much as they did. Their duty was to execute the decrees of the general chapter, which were binding upon them as true children of the order; and they did not recognise the acts of the late Nuncio. The saint could not submit to their conditions; so they ordered him to be imprisoned in the monastery, severely scourged, and fed on bread and water. They regarded him as a headstrong friar who followed his own will, and who heeded not the authority of the order. They had him in their power now, and they had the right to chastise him for his disobedience.

The servant of God was helpless, but he never made the slightest complaint, and submitted humbly to the sentence pronounced by men who were not really invested with any jurisdiction over him. He neither disputed their authority nor begged for their forgiveness, but yielded himself passively to suffer whatever they might lay upon him; he had prayed for

sufferings, and his prayer, to his great joy, was heard at last.

His prison, visited devoutly afterwards by one of his biographers, fra Joseph of Jesus Maria, was a small closet, not quite six feet wide, and less than ten feet in length, at the end of a room in which guests of distinction were usually lodged. It was close and dark, for it had no window; and the scanty light it had came through a loophole, not three inches wide, in the wall near the roof—and that was, moreover, a borrowed light. To read his Breviary the prisoner must stand on a bench and hold his book under the light, and that light could be had only for a short time during the day, when the sun shone in the corridor of the house.

The door of this closet was padlocked, and he could never leave it without the gaoler's permission. Afterwards, when the friars heard of the escape of his fellow-prisoner, German of St. Mathias,* from the monastery in Moraleja, the door of the room to which the closet belonged was also locked. They were determined to keep him safely, for they looked on him—as in truth

* Fra German was born in Logroña in Riojas; made his profession in Pastrana, Feb. 25 1573. He was elected prior of Manzera, June 10 1579, and died in the course of the year in the odour of sanctity. Pedro de las Cuevas, a priest, was with St. Teresa in Avila one day, when the saint burst into tears, and being asked the reason, said, 'The prior of Manzera is dead.' Don Pedro found afterwards that the prior had died that very day. Notes of fra Antonio on Lett. 77, vol. iii. of the *Letters of St. Teresa.*

he was—the chief pillar of the reform, which they hated, and laboured to overthrow.

During the day no one but the friar who was his gaoler was allowed to speak to him, or even to see him. In the evening he was led to the refectory at the time of collation, and there, on the floor, he had to take his food, which was generally bread and water. Occasionally they gave him a little fish, if any could be spared from the meal of the community; they even gave him salt-fish, and refused him water. When the meal was over, the prior rebuked him severely, speaking to him as to one who had committed scandalous sins, upbraiding him as a reformer of others when he needed reformation himself, and calling the attention of his brethren to him as to one who had set himself up to teach them before he had been taught himself—he who was, in reality, but the lowest and the least in the order, and deserving no consideration.

When the prior ceased to speak, the saint bared his shoulders to receive the public discipline inflicted on friars guilty of grave offences. It is the heaviest penance which religious inflict, and is also the most keenly felt, for it is the reward of disgraceful deeds. St. John of the Cross, walking in the footsteps of his Master, bowed his head, and submitted to the terrible scourging, which was so unsparingly administered that his shoulders bore the marks of it for the rest of

his days. He received it all as from the hands of God, Who had a right to scourge him, and neither then nor afterwards did he ever complain of the friars, always making excuses for them whenever his imprisonment was spoken of. At all times, even among his own brethren of the reform who knew the whole story, he would never allow any one to blame the friars of Toledo. At first they led him to the refectory every night, but they grew weary at last of that cruel scourging before he did. This was to him another grief; he complained to his gaoler, and asked him why he was forgotten and deprived of his only consolation. He longed for the evening, that he might be led to the torture; but his tormentors, grown weary, sent for him only thrice in the week for a time, and then only on Fridays. Later on, they spared him even the Fridays, and left him for weeks unmolested in his cell: perhaps they were thinking, in spite of themselves, of the lamb before his shearers, dumb.

He was kept in prison more than eight months, and was never allowed to change his clothes. He had to wear the habit of the mitigation given him in Avila when he was made prisoner, which was a perpetual penance to him, and his woollen tunic underneath must have been saturated with blood, and soiled; but the friars were blind to the cruelty of their conduct. As he came into the prison, so he went out, in the very same garments, never changed; and he was be-

come a burden, horrible even to himself. To add to his sorrows, the friars of the observance would meet together in the room to which his cell belonged, and there, so as to be heard by him, discussed the affairs of the reform. They were careful to say nothing that was not true, but all they had to say was meant to vex the prisoner. They spoke of the resolution of the Nuncio, Monsignore Sega, to quash the reform, and detailed the strange charges brought against St. Teresa by two friars who for a time had fallen away, and who were supposed to know the secrets of the reform, as if those charges had never been retracted, or as if they believed them to be true. All this was gall and wormwood, for he knew nothing of the state of his brethren; he therefore bewailed his own sins and imperfections, which, in his humility, he considered as the cause of the great ruin which had been wrought in Carmel. It was impossible for him to communicate with anybody. He was cut off from the rest of the world; no one knew where he was, and they were the sons of his mother who fought against him.

It was with difficulty he could say his office, and he was not allowed to say Mass. The reform in the order, which he had accepted at the hands of St. Teresa, had brought him to utter misery; if he had gone to the Carthusians, as he had purposed, he could have served God in peace and quietness. He was now among the dead; his brethren could not

deliver him—none of them even knew where he was. God had thrown him into the crucible to burn away the dross, to purify the spirit, and bring it home to Himself. But amid all his trials, and in the depths of his sufferings, his patience never failed him, and it was in that prison he composed the wonderful hymn *Adonde Te escondiste*, which he afterwards so wonderfully explained.

The bodily sufferings of that prison may be, perhaps, understood; but the spiritual sufferings by which his soul was raised so high are unutterable. He was drawn in beneath the deep waters, and hidden from the eyes of men bodily and spiritually, so that none could comfort him. The rigours of his prison were also redoubled in the beginning of March 1578, when the friars heard of the escape of fra German of St. Mathias, who was made a prisoner with him in December before in Avila. Soon the hot weather made his close cell more intolerable still, and he was now become a burden to himself, because he was not allowed a change of raiment. Nobody had compassion upon him, and his gaoler was unmoved by his miserable condition. It was rumoured too that fra Jerome Tostado had sent him to Rome, and St. Teresa seems to have believed it.* The story may have caused his friends to cease from searching for him; and while he was in his prison they were never

* Lett. 183, March 9th 1578.

able to discover the place where he had been hidden.

But God did not forsake His servant; his enemies had chased him, and caught him like a bird, without cause, and hidden him from all his acquaintance in a close and stifling cell, which, in the heat of summer, had become a furnace. His gaoler, obedient to the order of his superiors, refused him any relief; and even at night the darkness was hardly greater than it was during the day. Now and then the saint made his moan unto God, but without complaining, and his cell became filled with light seen by the bodily eye. One night the friar who kept him went as usual to see that his prisoner was safe, and witnessed the heavenly light with which the cell was flooded. He did not stop to consider it, but hurried to the prior, thinking that some one in the house had keys to open the doors of the prison. The prior, with two religious, went at once to the prison, but on his entering the room through which the prison was approached, the light vanished. The prior, however, entered the cell, and, finding it dark, opened the lantern with which he had provided himself, and asked the prisoner who had given him light. St. John answered him, and said that no one in the house had done so, that no one could do it, and that there was neither candle nor lamp in the cell. The prior made no reply, and went away, thinking that the gaoler had made a mistake.

St. John, at a later time, told one of his brethren that the heavenly light, which God so mercifully sent him, lasted the night through, and that it filled his soul with joy, and made the night pass away as if it were but a moment. When his imprisonment was drawing to its close, he heard our Lord say to him, as it were, out of the soft light that was around him, 'John, I am here; be not afraid; I will set thee free.'

On the eve of the Assumption of our Lady, 1578, when he had been eight months in prison, the prior came suddenly in with two of the friars, and found the saint on his knees in prayer. He was now so worn by his sufferings and so weak, as to be unable to rise when the prior entered. Indeed, he made no effort to do so, but continued his prayer, for he thought it was only his gaoler. The prior touched him rudely, and asked him why he had not stood up to receive him as subjects receive their superiors when visited by them. The prior honestly believed that his not rising up was an act of studied disrespect, and was greatly displeased. The servant of God begged to be forgiven so simply and so humbly, that the prior was softened for a moment, and asked him what he was thinking of. St. John of the Cross made answer, 'I was thinking that to-morrow is the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, and that it would be a great joy to me if I could say Mass.' The prior turned his back upon him saying, 'Not in my time;' and went his way.

The servant of our Lord was left alone in his sorrow, but sorrowing most that the next day he was neither to say nor hear Mass. But during the night that followed the day of the Assumption, our Blessed Lady herself came to the cell, radiant in the soft light of her presence, and said to him, 'My son, have patience, thy trials are nearly over; thou shalt leave thy prison, say Mass, and be glad.' His heart dilated with joy at the words, and he began to consider how he was to make his escape. He knew that his gaolers would not release him, and he could not deliver himself. In this perplexity, but confident that an escape was possible, he continued for a day or two, and then our Lord Himself appeared to him during the Octave, and bade him be of good cheer, for He who enabled the Prophet Eliseus to divide the waters of the Jordan with the mantle of Elias, and cross the river, would, without any difficulty, deliver him out of the hands of his tormentors.

Hoping and believing that his deliverance was nigh, he took heart, and waited, but he was still unable to understand how it was to be wrought. Then, in the midst of his perplexities, our Lady appeared to him again, and in a vision showed him a window of the monastery from which the Tagus could be seen; he was to descend from that window, and she would save him from all danger. As he had never been in that monastery except as a prisoner, he knew nothing of

the arrangements of the house, nor could he find his way to that window, even by daylight, still less in the darkness of the night. But the matter had been all prepared beforehand: the ordinary gaoler, who had been so harsh, was wanted for some other work, and a friar from Valladolid, of a more tender heart, had been now his guardian for some weeks. This friar, fra John of St. Mary, touched by the patience and silence and uncomplainingness of his prisoner, became persuaded that he was a great saint. He therefore was as kind to him as he possibly could be, and softened the rigours of his prison, so far as obedience to his superiors allowed him. When the fathers were at recreation or resting in the heat of the day, he would take St. John out of his cell and allow him to walk up and down the room to which it belonged. By degrees he gave him greater freedom, and suffered him to enter the corridor and even to look out of the windows. Thus it was that St. John discovered the window showed him in the vision; and when he saw it he took special notice of it, feeling that the hour of his release was come.

He had been treated by his gaoler with all the kindness in the power of the brother to show him; and now, knowing that he was to be parted from him, he thanked him for his kindness, and begged him to forgive all the trouble he had given him. He then asked him to accept a crucifix which it seems the

friars had not taken from him. The cross was made of some rare wood, on which the instruments of the Passion were admirably figured, and the image of our Lord was of bronze. The saint had worn it under his scapular, near his heart, and told his gaoler that he prized it highly himself, not for the workmanship, but because it had been given him by a most saintly person, in whose possession it had been for some time. He did not say that it was the gift, as it is believed, of St. Teresa herself to him when he was confessor of the nuns of the incarnation, because at that time the name of St. Teresa was hateful in the ears of the fathers of the mitigation; and this good friar from Valladolid was probably under the dominion of the same misconception, notwithstanding his great charity towards the servant of God.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1578.

The escape—Dangers—The saint takes refuge in the monastery of St. Joseph—Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza.

WHEN the servant of God saw the window which had been shown him in a vision, he knew that the time was come in which he was to make his escape. That very night, when his gaoler, after giving him his supper, went out of the cell for some water, he loosened the staple of the padlock on his door; the gaoler also, when he took leave of him for the night, forgot to take away the lamp, having seen nothing amiss with the fastening of the room.

Towards night the provincial, with some religious, came unexpectedly to the monastery, and two of them were lodged in the room through which the prison of St. John was entered. At first that seemed another difficulty for the prisoner to overcome, but it was in reality a help, for as the weather was hot, the two religious kept the door of the room open for the sake of greater coolness. But they continued to converse together for a long time, and had placed their beds close to the door. Meanwhile, St. John in his cell,

was making preparations; he tore the two cloaks, which they had given him to cover him at night, into strips, and tied them together that they might serve him for a rope. That done, he betook himself to prayer, in which he spent the rest of the time till the hour he had fixed for his going forth. About two o'clock in the morning he took up the iron lamp—it had probably gone out—with the rope he had made, and calling on our Lady to help him, he heard a voice within saying, 'Be quick.' He then shook the door, and the loosened staple gave way. But the noise it made disturbed the sleeping friars, who cried out, 'Who is there?' He made no answer, and they, knowing nothing of his presence, soon fell asleep again.

He now waited awhile, and when he thought that the two friars were once more sound asleep, he left his cell, crossed the room, and almost treading on the sleepers, passed out undiscovered to the corridor, straight to the window which he had seen in a vision. The window had a wooden parapet, the lower part of which was not then joined to the brickwork; in the opening he inserted the iron rod from which the lamp hung, and made his rope fast to it. Then commending himself to God and His most Holy Mother, he let himself down in the darkness to a place he had never seen in his life. The rope was much too short, and he, thinking he was near the

ground, though in truth very far from it, and praying for help, let the rope go. He was neither stunned nor hurt, and yet he fell from a considerable height, and on loose stones, heaped there for the building of the church of the monastery. He was so near the city walls, that if he had fallen some two feet further off, he would have fallen on the other side of the wall, which in that place was very high.

He had left one prison to find himself in another, of which he knew nothing, for he was still within the precincts of the monastery, and the night was dark. He did not know his way, and no outlet was to be seen. As his eyes grew accustomed to the darkness, he saw a dog gnawing some bones which had been thrown near the heap of stones; he went up to the dog and frightened him away, meaning to follow the dumb brute, and thereby find a way out. The dog bounded over the wall, which, as he had heard from his gaoler, separated the monastery of the friars in that part from a courtyard of the Franciscan nuns of the monastery of the conception. The courtyard was behind the church, but not within the enclosure, and the wall was high. The saint was not only weak from his long imprisonment, but worn also by his descent from the window, so it was impossible for him to climb over the wall. In his distress he prayed again to our Blessed Lady for help, and somehow or other, he knew not how, he reached the top of the

wall, and let himself down on the other side. He was now out of his prison, and outside the monastery also, but when he went round the courtyard of the nuns, his search was in vain for a way to escape. Two sides of that enclosure were girt by the city walls, underneath which the Tagus flowed; on the third side was the wall of the monastery out of which he had come; and the fourth side—the part of it which was next the city—was protected by another wall built on a high bank. He thought the dog had disappeared in that direction, and so he went to that side, but the wall was so high that he gave up at once all hopes of escape that way.

In his misery—for he felt that discovery in such a place would be worse than in any other—he went again round the court, but he could find no outlet; he was hemmed in between four walls, and there was no means of escape. He could do no more by human means, so he prayed that He who had begun to deliver him would be pleased to finish His work. While still praying for help he saw a wonderful light, out of which came a voice, saying, 'Follow me.' He followed, and the light moved before him towards the wall which was on the bank, and then he knew not how he found himself on the summit of it without effort or fatigue. He descended into the street, and then the light vanished. So brilliant was it, that for two or three days afterwards, so he confessed at a

later time, his eyes were weak, as if he had been looking at the sun in its strength.

He had never been in Toledo, and knew not one street from another; he was therefore not safe; but giving hearty thanks to our Lord for his miraculous escape, and confident that his deliverance would be complete, he took shelter in the porch of a large house which had been left open. Then when the day began to break he saw a woman making ready her wares for the public market of the city, and asked her the way to the monastery of the barefooted Carmelites It was the monastery founded by St. Teresa, in 1568. The people looked at him with amazement as he walked through the streets, for he had on an old and worn habit, but no mantle, and his biographer says that his appearance was rather that of a man beside himself than of a grave religious of Carmel.

He knocked at the door of the monastery—it was about five o'clock—and at the turn he found sister Leonor of Jesus. He told her that he was John of the Cross, who had just escaped from prison, and now wished her to tell the mother prioress that he was there. The astonished sister lost no time in delivering her message; the news of his escape ran through the monastery in an instant, and made all the religious glad. He had been for eight months close to them, and yet none of them knew where he was.

At the moment of St. John's arrival at the door of the monastery, one of the sisters, Anne of the Mother of God, who had been ill for some time, thought herself to be in serious danger, and begged the confessor of the house might be sent for. St. John had come in time, and the confessor was not disturbed. Weak and ill as he was, he ascended to the infirmary where the sister was supposed to be dying. The nuns saw that he could scarcely walk, and that he was worn and weary; so before he entered the infirmary they insisted on his taking food, which they provided for him at once.

Having recruited his strength, he went in to the infirmary, and while hearing the sister's confession, the friars of the mitigation, out of whose prison he had made his escape during the night, came to the monastery with the officers of justice. They had discovered that their prisoner was gone, and searched the parlour, the confessional, the sacristy, and the church, for they were persuaded that he would go to that monastery, if not for refuge, certainly for the means of leaving Toledo, and they hoped to be in time to seize him. They did not find him, and went to seek for him elsewhere, having abstained from entering the infirmary.

The nuns kept the saint in the house, and, as long as they could, in the infirmary, which was a place of safety; for the friars, even if they returned in search

of him, would hardly seek him there. The nuns asked him to tell them the story of his sufferings. They said it would comfort the sick sister to hear it; and he yielded to their wish. But in all he said there was not one word against the friars he had left, nor any trace of ill-feeling; he made excuses for them, and threw on himself all the blame. Meanwhile the sisters were providing a habit for him, such as was befitting his order, for he was clad in the habit of the mitigation. Towards evening he went down to the church.

The prioress now sent for a great friend of the order, don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, canon and treasurer of the cathedral church, to whom she told what had taken place. It was impossible to lodge St. John in the monastery, and it was dangerous to send him out. Don Pedro's carriage was waiting at the door, and into that St. John hurried with the canon, who took him to his own lodgings, which at that time were within the hospital of the Holy Cross, he being the administrator of it that year. The saint remained with him some days, and then, when he had recovered his strength, don Pedro sent two of his servants with him, who took him safely to the monastery of Almodovar del Campo, to the friars of his own order and profession.

The friars of the mitigation were very much distressed when they found that their prisoner had made

his escape; they put the gaoler to penance, and deprived him for a time of his place in the chapter and choir. They were not a little troubled, however, when they found how he had got out of the monastery for they could not help seeing that the means were not naturally sufficient. The rope could not sustain the weight of his body; and its own weight alone would, under other circumstances, have detached the parapet from the wall, and bent the iron rod of the lamp from which it hung. Many of the religious, however, saw in this the hand of God, and were glad the prisoner was free.

Soon afterwards St. Teresa returned to Toledo from Avila. The news of his escape had reached her before she left Avila, but it is probable that she could not learn how much the saint had suffered before she came to Toledo. When she heard the story of the imprisonment, which lasted eight months, she wished the Nuncio to be told of the way in which the friars of the mitigation, whom he befriended, had dealt with one who was wholly innocent, and of whom she said afterwards that 'she was not worthy to suffer as he had done.'*

* Lett. 215, written in Avila in December 1578.

Dominicana

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1578.

Troubles in the order—Chapter of Almodovar—St. John of the Cross made vicar of Mount Calvary—Fall of fra Pedro of the Angles—The saint visits Veas—Reforms the monastery—Mendicancy—Poverty—Writes on mystical theology.

WHEN St. John of the Cross arrived in Almodovar, he found the great work he had begun in Duruelo ten years before in the utmost danger. Monsignore Sega, the Nuncio, unfriendly to it, had been made still more unfriendly by the conduct of fra Jerome of the Mother of God, to whom the late Nuncio had intrusted it. Monsignore Sega was surprised at fra Jerome's acts, and very much displeased with him because he did not cease from the use of the faculties granted by the former Nuncio. He thought that fra Jerome ought to have considered them as no longer lawful, and so, to make matters safe, he demanded of fra Jerome the surrender of his faculties. Unhappily fra Jerome was weak enough to refuse, and in so doing disobeyed the Nuncio of the Pope. This refusal of fra Jerome to give up his faculties was a great grief to St. Teresa,* and an annoyance to Monsignore Sega.

* Lett. 211, to fra Jerome, Oct. 1578.

It is true that learned lawyers had told fra Jerome he might continue to exercise his office of visitor under the commission of the late Nuncio, notwithstanding the arrival of his successor, but it does not seem that they either did, or could, justify his refusal to surrender his faculties, when they were demanded by one who was the equal in authority of him who had granted them at first.

The Nuncio was determined to preserve his authority, as legate of the Holy See. Though the king had given orders to his own officers to hinder the execution of the decrees of the Nuncio in the affairs of the religious orders, Monsignore Sega pursued his course, and appointed his own visitors—they were friars of the mitigation—recalling and quashing at the same time all the faculties hitherto held by fra Jerome of the Mother of God.

The visitors appointed by the Nuncio entered on their work, and in August 1578 went to Pastrana to receive the submission of the friars there; St. John of the Cross being at the time in prison in Toledo. The people of Pastrana, when they heard of their approach, went to the governor, and insisted on his executing the king's orders; in other words, on his hindering the visitation. The friars themselves, at least some of them, were ready enough to resist, under the protection of the civil authorities, but happily better counsels prevailed, and the visitors were admitted.

Fra Jerome himself, by the advice of a pious lay brother, gave way, submitted to the visitors, and resigned his commission.

At this time the prior of Manzera, fra John of Jesus, came to Madrid on the affairs of his order, and presented himself before the Nuncio. The Nuncio would not even hear him, and ordered him to remain a prisoner in the Carmelite house of the mitigation. From his prison he wrote to the Nuncio, begging at least to be heard in his own defence, but apparently in vain. After some time the Nuncio went to the monastery, and all the fathers, except the prior of Manzera, came forth to receive him. When he had entered the choir, he asked for fra John of Jesus, and as he was not present, desired him to be sent for. The Nuncio received him courteously, and asked him what he had to say; he replied that he wished to defend his brethren the barefooted friars. Thereupon the Nuncio ordered the friars of the mitigation to withdraw, and fra John made his defence. But as soon as he uttered the name of St. Teresa, the Nuncio could not restrain himself, and spoke of her as an unquiet, gadabout, disobedient, and obstinate woman, who under colour of piety was bringing in dangerous doctrines, who went about the country, careless about enclosure and the decrees of the council of Trent, teaching, though a woman, in despite of St. Paul, who forbade women

to teach. The friar heard this with amazement; but he took courage, and begged to be allowed to speak. The Nuncio gave him leave, and he spoke again so truly and so well, so humbly and yet so firmly, in defence of St. Teresa, showing that she had acted in everything, and always, under obedience of her superiors, that the Nuncio at last showed signs of relenting. Fra John, seeing the change, proposed to him the separation of the barefooted friars from those of the mitigation. The Nuncio listened, and then asked fra John why the friars of the reform, having a rule of their own and wearing a different habit, should find any inconvenience in being governed by a friar of the mitigation. Fra John said the friars of the mitigation would not govern them according to their rule, for their aim was to suppress them. When the Nuncio had considered the matter for a moment, he said to fra John, 'You shall not be governed then by the friars of the mitigation,' and he told him further to write to all the monasteries of the reform that the Nuncio would himself attend to all their affairs.

The courage of fra John was met by the justice of the Nuncio; and as the latter, hitherto unfriendly to the reform, was now won over, the troubles of the order might have ended here. The friars were numerous, having many houses, and novices were everywhere pressing in; and, as we learn from St. Teresa, the

primitive rule was at this time professed by more than two hundred friars.*

But peace was not to be yet. The Nuncio now heard of the royal decrees issued for the purpose of hindering him in the execution of his duties as visitor of the order. Unhappily he persuaded himself that those decrees had been issued at the instance of the barefooted friars of St. Teresa, and so, suspecting the fathers of dishonesty, sent for fra John of Jesus, and reprimanded with great severity. He then ordered him to make a retreat for two months in Madrid, and retire to his monastery of Manzera.

There was more trouble in Carmel. Some of the friars—of whom fra Antonio of Jesus was the chief—determined to hold a chapter in Almodovar del Campo, though they were without a provincial, and though the government of them was, by delegation of the Nuncio, in the hands of the friars of the mitigation. Fra Antonio had been elected definitor in the chapter held in Almodovar del Campo, in September 1576; and now that fra Jerome had resigned his office of provincial, he believed himself to have some authority in the order, notwithstanding the resumption by the Nuncio of all authority in it. In this he was fortified by lawyers, who advised him according to his wishes;

* *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 179 to the provincial of the Jesuits, father Suarez, Feb. 10 1578.

so he summoned a chapter to meet in Almodovar, on the 9th day of October 1578.

This was against the opinion of St. Teresa, who, in a letter to fra Jerome, says she was glad to hear from him they were not going to elect a provincial, 'though fra Antonio told me,' she writes, 'they were bound under pain of sin to do so; however, I did not contradict him.'* The saint made no objection because she thought it was too late: but she never approved of the proceedings in Almodovar del Campo.

Fra Antonio, as the definitor, presided in the chapter; his brethren elected him provincial of the reform. St. John of the Cross, newly escaped out of prison, withheld his consent, for he regarded the election as illegal, and beyond their power. The assembled fathers would not attend to him, and went on with their work from day to day as if they were met together in a lawful chapter, with full authority to do what they were doing. Fra John of Jesus in Madrid heard of these doings, and instead of returning to Manzera, as the Nuncio had ordered him, hastened to Almodovar, in the hope of being able to dissuade his brethren from their illegal courses. When he arrived, he pointed out to them that they had no authority whatever, and that the election of a provincial was an act of disobedience to the Nuncio, and of separation from their brethren; they were therefore setting up a

* Lett. 211, October 15 1578.

new order without the sanction of the Pope, which was unlawful, and, at the same time, rebelling against their immediate superior, the Nuncio of his Holiness.

Fra John, as St. John of the Cross before him, preached to unwilling hearers, and, the chapter ended, was ordered into prison by his brethren, where he was kept for a month, that he might not tell the Nuncio the story of their deeds. These friars had suffered themselves; but they were none the less ready to make fra John suffer also. In the same chapter, against the wishes of St. Teresa,* they chose two of their brethren to go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of their acts; one of them was fra Pedro of the Angels, prior of the monastery of Mount Calvary, a zealous and austere man, who had left the mitigation for the reform; he was regarded as a saint by his brethren because of the great graces which God had bestowed upon him. St. John of the Cross, however, was not comforted by the choice, and divinely enlightened, said to fra Pedro, 'You are going, my father, shoeless to Rome; but you will return to Spain shod.' The prophecy was accomplished. Fra Pedro became lax, and betrayed his trust through weakness; and on his return to Spain, having done no service whatever to the order, went back to his brethren of the mitigation in their monastery in

* Lett. 211.

Granada, where he ended his days under a cloud of sorrow and of shame.

Fra Pedro, on his admission to the monastery of the mitigation in Granada, sold the mantle he had worn as a barefooted friar. Anne of Jesus, the prioress of the monastery there, heard of this, and was grievously distressed. She sent the sacristan to buy it back, and at the same time made fra Pedro know how much she had been pained by his act, and that he who despised the serge of our Lady would not long wear the finer stuff of the mitigation. He had been prior of Mount Calvary, and confessor of Anne of Jesus when she was in Veas. Fra Pedro was greatly disturbed, and went to the monastery to speak to Anne of Jesus, but she would neither speak to him nor allow him to enter the house. He made many useless efforts to speak to her, and great personages in Granada, at his request, interceded for him, among others the president of the Chancery. Anne was inexorable, and said 'let him take care that he never sets a foot in the house, for he may be punished severely if he does so.'

One day, however, as he passed by the monastery of Anne of Jesus, he saw the door of the Church wide open, and said to his companion, 'Let us go in and pray.' They went in, and during his prayer he saw his fault in so clear a light that he fell into a fit of uncontrollable weeping, and his eyes were drawn out of their sockets. He was led back with great difficulty

to his monastery, and in a few days was dead; having borne his sufferings with great patience, and bitterly repented his fall. When Anne of Jesus heard of his death, she said, 'I knew it must be so if he ever came to this house, and that was why I refused to admit him; and yet he was a great servant of God, and a good religious.'*

But as fra Pedro was prior of Mount Calvary, and as his brethren were now sending him to Rome, they must supply his absence in that monastery. They elected St. John of the Cross to be the vicar of the house during the rest of the term of the priorate of fra Pedro, if he should be absent so long, and also made him confessor of the nuns in Veas, where Anne of Jesus was then prioress.

Fra Antonio, the new provincial, perhaps not without grave misgivings, went with some of his brethren from Almodovar to Madrid. He presented himself before the Nuncio, and told Monsignore Sega that he and his brethren had come to him from the chapter to obtain the confirmation of fra Antonio as provincial of the barefooted friars. The Nuncio, hearing the words chapter, election, provincial, and knowing that all had been done without his consent, who was their superior, stopped all further discourse, pronounced their acts a nullity, and ordered them into prison, excommunicat-

* Berthold Ignace de Sainte Anne. Vie de la Mere Anne de Jesus, vol. 1, p. 357.

ing at the same time all those who had any share in the unhappy proceedings in Almodovar. Believing the friars to be wholly dishonest in all their dealings with him, and that they could not be trusted, he appointed friars of the mitigation to govern all the houses of the reform, which was the most certain road to their final suppression.

St. John of the Cross had left Almodovar before the Nuncio had heard of the ill-advised doings of the illegal chapter, and on his way to Mount Calvary stopped at Veas to see the nuns there, and especially the prioress, the venerable Anne of Jesus. The nuns rejoiced to see the confessor who had suffered so much for the order, and who was the great pillar of the reform among the friars. The prioress, while he was in the parlour, desired one of the nuns to sing. The sister sang, and her song was of the blessedness of suffering.

Quien no sabe de penas
En este triste valle de dolores,
No sabe de buenas
Ni ha gustado de amores.
Pues penas es el traje de Amadores.

But almost as soon as she began, the servant of God felt that he was about to fall into a trance, so he made a sign to the religious to cease, but it was too late; so he clung to the bars of the grating lest his

body should be lifted up from the ground.* He remained for an hour lost in prayer, insensible to all around him; and thus the nuns of Veas became witnesses of the marvels seen before by the nuns of the incarnation in Avila when he was confessor there.

From Veas he went to the monastery of Mount Calvary, far away from the tumults of men in the solitudes of Andalucia. The friars of Peñuela had removed thither in December, 1576, in obedience to a decree of the first chapter of Almodovar, held September 8th of that year. Peñuela was an unhealthy place, the friars were always sickly, and death was frequent among them; the chapter therefore decided that the place should be abandoned. The prior, fra Pedro of the Angels, removed the community, thirty in number, and established it in a solitude called Corençuela; the monastery was henceforth known as the monastery of Mount Calvary.

Fra Pedro was a man of great zeal, mortified and laborious; he had also the gift of prayer and was often seen lost in rapture. He was at this time greatly thought of in the order, for he had been chosen as the delegate of the friars to go to Rome,

* The chair in which the servant of God then sat was religiously kept by the community, and even escaped the fire in 1810. It is now in the keeping of the Carmelites of Jaën, with the exception of a considerable fragment of it now in the possession of the Carmel of Brusselles. Vie de la Mere Anne de Jesus, per le R. P. Bertholdu Ignace de Sainte Anne, vol. 1, p. 242. Malines, 1876.

in the first chapter of Almodovar, as well as in the second. The pressure of other matters hindered the first choice from being effective, and fra Pedro did not leave Spain, but now he went; and it would have done no harm to the brethren if he had stayed at home, so far as their public affairs were concerned. But not so as to the government of the monastery of Mount Calvary. He had been at least indiscreet, and had sanctioned many practices which were not wise. As before in Pastrana, so now in Corençuela, St. John of the Cross, whose whole life was one continued mortification, had to restrain and temper the mortification of others, by checking certain practices and observances which had either crept in or had been openly brought in, without clear warrant of the rule and constitutions.

There were men there, as elsewhere, who defended these novelties, but the servant of God would not allow them. When the friars who adopted these irregular practices and defended them against his advice, told him that they were within their right, because the rule allows things to be done which are not enjoined by it, he answered that the permission was for single persons, not for whole communities, and that the general order of the house should never be disturbed by practices not sanctioned by the rule, or by any observances which any member of it might adopt for his own sanctification. They urged

upon him the further consideration that this house was in a remote and lonely place, far away from the concourse of men, and that as none claimed their services outside the monastery, they were therefore free, if not bound, to lead a more rigorous and penitential life, and might lawfully observe many practices not to be found in other houses of the order.

St. John of the Cross would not give way before any plausibilities of this kind; he insisted on the careful observance of the rule and constitutions by which their lives were to be ordered. They were to attain to perfection in a definite way, and not by haphazard—inventions of their own—or by ways otherwise good and fitting for other orders. The friars of Carmel were called to one special kind of life; and they would miss their road if they departed from it. He would not allow the community, though the friars had no work to do outside the house, to burden itself with any practices which were not observed throughout the order. These novelties were full of danger; for those houses in which the irregularities were allowed would be shunned by the old friars, worn out by their labours, and only the young and the strong would frequent them: which would be an injury to all. The old friars would lose the rest and solitude necessary for contemplation, which in most of the houses might be difficult to find; and the young friars, not having yet reached the per-

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fection of their state, would be carried away by the sweetness of excessive penance, and miss the road to solid devotion.

On this subject we have his judgment given at this very time, in the sixth chapter of the first book of the *Dark Night:*

'Many beginners, delighting in the sweetness and joy which they find in such practices, seek after spiritual sweetness more than pure and true devotion, which is that which God regards and accepts in the whole course of the spiritual road. For which reason, over and above their imperfection in seeking after sweetness in devotion, the spirit of gluttony which has taken possession of them forces them to overstep the bounds of moderation, within which virtue is acquired and consists. Allured by the sweetness they find therein, some of them kill themselves by penance, and others weaken themselves by fasting, taking upon themselves, without rule or advice, more than their weakness can bear; they try rather to hide their doings from those whom they are bound to obey in the matter, and some even dare to practice austerities expressly forbidden them. These are full of imperfections, people without reason, who put aside discretion and submission and obedience which is the penance of reason, and therefore a sacrifice more sweet and acceptable to God than all the other acts of bodily penance. Bodily penance is full of imper-

fections, if that of the rule be neglected, because men are drawn to it simply because they like it, and find pleasure in it.'

This seems to have been a difficulty which St. John of the Cross and St. Teresa had to fight against everywhere; both friars and nuns were fond of novelties; they were ready to add to the rule, and devise new ways of perfection. St. Teresa, speaking of her own special children, the nuns, says she was edified by much that she saw; but she adds, 'I would rather they kept the rule.'* In the same sense she wrote to fra Jerome of the Mother of God himself, May 22, 1578; for even he could not refrain from adding to the burdens of communities. 'Believe me,' said the saint, 'these houses are doing well, and need not to be laden with more observances, which are a burden to the nuns. Do not forget this, I entreat you. What we have to do is to insist on keeping the constitutions, nothing more; enough is done when they are kept.'† Again, in another letter to the same father, written about eighteen months before her death, she complains of her own prioresses: I wish we had the constitutions printed, for they are not everywhere alike, and many a prioress, not thinking that she is doing anything out of the way, leaves out or puts in what she likes when copying them.'‡

* *Foundations*, xviii. § 7. † Lett. 195, May 22, 1578.
‡ Lett. 321, Feb. 21, 1581.

On this subject St. Teresa was firm. She knew the dangers of novelties, and the security of beaten tracks; and that the true director of souls was our Lord, Who had called them to serve Him in a particular way. 'Our Lord leads souls,' she wrote,* 'by different roads; but the prioresses must keep in mind that they have not been appointed to guide souls by ways which they like themselves, but by the way of the rule and constitutions.'

St. John of the Cross was always pitiless whenever he came across the extravagances of men who were too wise in their own eyes to keep the law under which they were to live. The excesses of Corençuela he lopped off, as he had lopped off before the like excesses in Pastrana. He who was so austere himself was never austere with others; he would not impose rules of his own devising, nor allow others to impose them, if they were without authority to do it, and he had authority to restrain them. As in the government of communities, so in the direction of single persons, he never made himself their master. He did but administer the law, and watch over its observance. 'Spiritual directors,' he said, 'are not the chief workers, but rather the Holy Ghost; they,' he added, 'are mere instruments, only to guide souls by the rule of faith and the law of God, according to the spirit which God gives to each. Their object,

* *Foundations*, xviii. 6.

therefore, should be not to guide souls by a way of their own, suitable to themselves; but to ascertain, if they can, the way by which God himself is guiding them.'*

Experience also showed how right the two saints were in their resistance to these observances, which were unwisely added to the rule. The prior of Corençuela fell away from the order; and the novice master in Pastrana was so wedded to his own inventions that he could not submit to a higher authority without great murmuring and discontent: a sure proof of self-will.†

While he was checking extravagances, and moderating penances in others, his own life was the most penitential in the house. But his penances never were in the way, and his austerities never interfered with the regular observance of the community. His cell was the poorest and the most scantily furnished. He had in it but two books, his Breviary and the sacred writings; if he wanted other books he went to the library for them, and took them back as soon as he had done with them. He slept about two hours during the night, the rest was spent in prayer, either in the church before the Most Holy, or in his cell. He resumed the terrible penances of Duruelo, and gave his body no rest; and that was the only creature of God to which he showed himself without mercy.

*_Living Flame_, stanza iii. l. 3 § 9, Eng. transl. † Chap. iv. above *prof fin*

The former prior of Mount Calvary, among other mortifications visible to the outer world, had allowed the friars to go out to beg for the monastery. St. John of the Cross had always resisted this; it was not directed by the rule, and was in his eyes the high-road to dissipation, and the loss of that recollected spirit which is one of the graces and charms of Carmel. He would not allow any begging, under any conditions. The friars were the servants of God, he said, who had left everything to follow Him; and He, as the good Master of the house, would provide for their wants. The faith of the saint was strong and clear, and it pained him to see one of his religious give way to uneasy thoughts about the sustenance of his brethren.

One day he was told that there was no food in the house; but he was not troubled by the news. The community came to the refectory, according to the custom, at the appointed time; for he had given orders that no change should be made. A fragment of bread was found, and by his direction brought into the refectory, and grace was said. The fathers sat down before an empty table, and St. John spoke to them of the hidden graces of poverty, of the merit of suffering, and conformity to the will of God, with so much unction that the fathers left the refectory with their hearts on fire; and gave thanks to God for His special mercy in leaving them that day without food to eat.

They withdrew to their cells, and no sooner had they begun to prepare themselves for prayer than the whole house was disturbed by a loud knocking at the outer gate.

The porter went to the door, and saw there a man with a letter in his hand addressed to the vicar. The porter took it, and finding St. John in the church, in prayer before the Most Holy, gave it to him. The saint opened it, and as soon as he saw what it meant, began to cry like a man in pain. The porter was greatly distressed, and begged the saint to tell him why he was weeping so bitterly. The saint replied, 'I cry, my brother, because God thinks us too weak to bear hunger any longer; He could not trust us for one day, and is sending us food.' In the course of the afternoon a servant of Doña Philippa da Caravajal came from Ubeda with two mules laden with provisions for the house.

On another occasion the community found itself without food for the sick fathers in the infirmary. The religious went down to the church to pray before the Most Holy, and while they were in prayer, abundant supplies of provision with medicine and two hundred reals were sent them by Don Andrés Ortega Cabrio, who knew nothing whatever of the distress of the monastery which he was thus unexpectedly relieving.*

In the town of Iznatorafe, distant about six miles

* Garnica, San Juan de la Cruz, p. 178, Jaën, 1873.

from the monastery, was a man possessed of the devil, and whom the exorcisms of Holy Church had hitherto failed to deliver. His friends and relatives, having heard of the sanctity of the vicar of Mount Calvary, implored him to come to their relief. The saint yielded to their importunities, and went to Iznatorafe. The man possessed was brought to him; and the evil spirit, which had so cruelly tormented him, betraying before all who were present the terror which had seized upon him, in a whining voice began to complain that another St. Basil had come. The servant of God commanded him, in the name of Christ, to cease from his possession, and on the instant the evil spirit departed; the man being restored to perfect health of mind and body, to the great joy of the people. But the devil, thus defeated, was bent on revenge; and entering into a woman, who lived in a village through which the servant of God had to pass on his way home, there waited his coming. When the saint had arrived, the woman came forth to meet him, and begged him to come into her house; but he, recognising his enemy, turned away, saying he would rather go into hell than into her house.

From Corençuela he went once in every week to Veas, to hear the confessions of the nuns there, to their great consolation and help. The road was hilly and rough; but he, with his worn frame, went always on foot, never heeding either weather or distance.

The nuns were earnestly recommended by St. Teresa through the prioress, Anne of Jesus, to have recourse to his services; for he was a man, she said, of 'very great spirituality, learning, and experience.' On another occasion she writes to the same prioress, and says that she has 'not found one like him in all Castille.'*

In the monastery of Mount Calvary, the saint began to write on mystical theology; and two of his books, the *Subida del Monte Carmelo* and the *Noche escura del Alma*, were written there.

* Lett. 219, 220, written about the end of 1578.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1579.

Foundation of Baeza—Poverty of the house—Miraculous succours—The Saint at Mass—Doña Maria de la Paz.

ONE day in Veas, while conversing with some of the nuns, the servant of God said that he should not be long their confessor. They were surprised, and asked the reason; after some difficulty, for the words probably escaped him, he told them that he must leave Corençuela for Baeza, where another house of the order would be soon founded. When the nuns had heard this, they said they were not troubled at the news, for another foundation was then impossible. So it seemed at the time, because the Nuncio had forbidden the foundation of more monasteries; and there was no sign of any change in his dealings with the reform of St. Teresa.

Nevertheless, the light broke in upon the Nuncio at last, and he confessed that he had been too hasty in trusting to the reports of the friars of the mitigation. He therefore recalled his prohibition, and allowed the friars of the reform to found monasteries as before. In the very beginning of April, 1579, he made fra Angel de Salazar superior of the reformed friars and nuns, forbidding both friars and nuns at the same time to obey any of the prelates of the mitigation.

The people of Baeza, a rich and noble city, seeing the fathers of the reform in Peñuela, wished to have them also within their own gates. The inhabitants were once a fierce race, divided into two factions; partisans of two noble families at enmity one with another. The city was dishonoured by brawling, fighting, and murder; the civil authority had neither power nor influence, and the city seemed doomed. Into this dwelling-place of unceasing bloodshed came the holy and venerable priest who has earned the title of the Apostle of Andalucia, Juan of Avila, with the determination, by the grace of God, to put an end to so much misery, and to quench hereditary hatreds. He preached in the churches and in private houses, in season and out of season, rebuking these inveterate sinners in all patience and doctrine. The people of Baeza yielded in the end, and laid their unholy feuds aside; and that Babylon of sin and disorder became, through his preaching, a city of peace and rest.

The venerable priest by whose ministry this miracle was wrought established schools in the place, and made provision for the teaching of Christian doctrine. Moreover, at the request of don Rodrigo Lopez, chaplain of Paul III., he undertook the charge of all the schools in Baeza, including the university then founded, for the foundation of which Don Rodrigo obtained a Bull from his Holiness.

It was a marvellous conversion, and its fruits were

gathered in for more than forty years. At this time, when the barefooted friars of Carmel were invited to Baeza, the lay people were said to be like ecclesiastics and the ecclesiastics like religious. The students of the university were more like men than boys, heard Mass every morning, on Fridays held conferences on Christian doctrine, and on Saturdays visited the hospitals, nursed the sick and made their beds. No one was admitted to his degree in that university who had not, as part of his exercises, spent some days on the missions in the country round; and the university of Baeza, in spite of the learning of its doctors, was commonly regarded more as a religious community than a gathering of students,* with their professors.

It was from this place, in the spring of 1579, that fra Angel de Salazar, the new superior of the barefooted Carmelites, received a request for friars. Fra Angel, though himself a friar of the mitigation, was always friendly to the reform; and if he had not been frightened by his brethren in 1562, the reform might have been peaceably established, for he had once consented to it. Now that he was in power, he exercised his authority gently, and without any difficulty, yielding to the wishes of the people of Baeza, ordered St. John of the Cross to make the foundation there.

The saint, in obedience to the commandment of his superior, went from Corençuela to the old house of

* Muñoz. *Vida y Virtudes del Ven. Juan de Avila*, cap. 20.

Peñuela, which had been peopled again by the friars after the emigration to Mount Calvary. The friars were glad to recover their former and cherished solitude, and the inhabitants of the country round had begged them to return. Fra Francis of the Conception, then confessor of the nuns in Malagon, was made prior by fra Jerome of the Mother of God, the house being refounded August 11, 1577.

From that house the saint took some of its members for the new foundation, and whilst staying in it, having obtained through the vicar-general of Jaën the sanction of the ordinary for the foundation, purchased a house in Baeza for 1800 ducats, the greater part of which sum was furnished by Dr. Pedro Roman, prior of the church of Iznatorafe. All the preparations being made, he returned to Mount Calvary, and thence, with his religious on foot and fasting, set out for Baeza—all the furniture they had being carried by one ass—on Saturday in Whitsun week, June 13, 1579.

They arrived in the evening, after a journey of nearly eighteen miles, and made preparations for the opening of the house on the following day. The next morning, which was Trinity Sunday, the little bell of the community, hung out of a window, was rung; St. John of the Cross said Mass, and took possession. Fra Francis of the Conception, prior of Peñuela, and three famous doctors of the university, known in Paris and Salamanca, Bernardin de Carleval, Diego Perez

de Valdiera, and Pedro de Ojeda, were present at the ceremony.

This house was a college like that founded in Alcala de Henares in 1570, and St. John of the Cross was founder and rector. The vice-rector was Fra Juan of Jesus, commonly called the saint, who had come from Peñuela, with his prior, fra Francis of the Conception, the founder of the college in Alcala nearly nine years before. A saintly priest, Alvaro Nuñez Marzelo, who had helped greatly in the second foundation of Peñuela, came to see the friars. He was shown the house and all it contained. The altar of their temporary church alone was furnished; the rest of the house was bare; and the furniture even of the altar was of the poorest kind consistent with reverence. The priest was edified exceedingly, and went his way. But he could not drive out of his thoughts the memory of what he had seen, so he sent some mattresses at once to the college, that the fathers might have at least something to sleep on. The messenger went with his burden, and the porter who opened the door for him told St. John of the charity of the 'Padre Marzelo.' The rector was most grateful, as he always was for the slightest kindness shown him, but he would not accept the gift of the tender-hearted priest. 'The Carmelites,' he said, 'sleep on the floor when well, and at present there is no sickness in the house.'

St. John of the Cross had come from the prison in Toledo, where he had learnt the inestimable worth of suffering and poverty, from the depths of which God had raised him to such heights of prayer as surpass the power of words to describe. He had seen and tasted, and would not throw away the heavenly food, nor refuse it to his brethren within the measure of the rule. He governed the house and trained it—as he had trained the others over which he had been placed—in silence, by prayer and meditation, and by the strict observance of the rule and constitutions. The doctors of the university could not refrain from the praise of the new house even in their public sermons, and the odour of its good name was spread abroad throughout Andalucia. The friars were hardly ever seen out of their church; only the students went abroad to the public lectures; and these were so recollected and so mortified as to cause devotion in those who saw them pass. Though the house was founded for the service of the students, yet such was the order and recollection of it that novices were admitted into it, and that without any inconvenience whatever either to them or to the students.

As the rector of the house, St. John of the Cross was compelled to unite the active with the contemplative life; he had many cares necessarily, and often had to converse with seculars; living as he was on the alms of the faithful, he had obligations to fulfil towards

those who did him good, and his very profession of a mendicant was a law that required of him a certain subjection to the importunities of strangers. In all this he was exact; but the silence of the house was never disturbed, and the religious were not seen in the streets. He commended his benefactors to the care of God, and served them to the utmost of his power in the pulpit and the confessional. He would not allow that there was any necessity for appearing abroad; a religious outside his monastery being in his opinion like a fish out of the water, on the point of spiritual death. If there was at any time any real necessity for the procurator's going out, he always charged him to be very careful not to be too pressing, and to abstain as much as possible from troubling those on the affairs of the house with whom they were most familiar.

It happened more than once that the friars came to the refectory to find nothing but empty tables; on which St. John would say, 'We may return to our cells; for as we have nothing to eat, it is a proof that we ought not to do so, seeing that our Lord has not provided for us.' But as our Lord never disappoints those who trust in Him, so was it in Baeza; for when the house was utterly empty, there would come men with provisions to the gate of the college sufficient for the wants of all therein.

The year 1580 was a year of sickness in Spain, and

the house in Baeza suffered like the rest. At one time there were twenty friars in the infirmary—some of whom had been sent thither from Mount Calvary—and there were neither beds for them to lie on, nor food to nourish them, nor medicine to give them. The procurator in his distress went to the rector, and begged he might be allowed to go out to seek help from the charity of the town. The rector replied that he longed himself for means to relieve the sick, but he did not think it was right to be troublesome to those outside. 'We have our Lord in the house to help us,' he said; 'and instead of wasting our time in going about the streets, let us spend it in the choir and ask Him to help us, and He will do it.' The procurator had to be satisfied with the answer, and St. John went to the church to pray. That very night, and again early the next morning, some good people sent twenty mattresses and much food to the house, and the sick were all relieved.

Some of the friars said to him one day, that people complained of him because none of the friars went to their houses for the alms they had ready for the college. 'Ah,' said he, 'if these people really mean to help us, God would make them send the alms without being asked by us.'

He disliked exceedingly the too easy relations of some of the friars with the world without; and he was sore distressed when he heard that a grave

superior was lax in his watchfulness over preachers and confessors whom he allowed to go out of their monasteries, and to burden themselves with the trifles which men in the world call business, and which was not the business of Carmel. On one occasion he was speaking of this to fra John of St. Anne, and at last broke out in the vehemence of his spirit, saying, 'Look to it, father John, if any man, even a superior, were ever to tempt you with enlightened notions, even if he confirmed them with miracles, do not believe in them or accept them, but rather cling to penance and detachment from all things; do not seek Christ except on the cross. He has called us to be the barefooted friars of the Virgin to follow Him on the cross, and not to seek our own ease and comfort. Remember, and do not forget this, for it is a matter of grave importance.'

One day, at recreation with the friars, there came in one whose hood was of finer cloth than is usually worn, and some of them took notice of it, as a breach of holy poverty. The friar, not seeing St. John, who was in another part of the room, replied with some confidence that a coarse habit was not an essential part of sanctity. Alas for his knowledge of theology! St. John of the Cross heard the unlucky words, so unseemly in the mouth of a barefooted friar of the Carmel of St. Teresa, and, like another Elias, broke forth in a storm of thunder upon his head. He made

him know and feel that the sanctity of his vocation at least depended on a coarse habit; for he took his fine hood from him, and made him put on another worn and mended, that he might learn to value what he thought was of no worth. 'He who does not love a poor habit is not worthy to wear it,' said the saint, 'and shows that he has not cleansed his soul of the filth of the world; and his religion is vain, who, being in conscience obliged to be a religious, outwardly resembles seculars.'*

His great devotion to the Most Holy Trinity was observed now in Baeza by his brethren. The nuns of Veas had observed it before. He was continually saying the Mass of the Holy Trinity. They asked him one day why he said that Mass so often. He answered pleasantly, as if he could thereby hide his great devotion, 'I say the Mass of the Most Holy Trinity because there is no one more holy in heaven.'

Saying Mass had become to him now what it is to so many saints, at once a torment and a joy. The inflowing of the divine communications was so abundant and so vehement as to overpower occasionally all resistance on his part; the humble and lowly servant of God, whose only wish was to be hidden from men, suffered exceedingly when these communications became known and visible to others. One day, while saying Mass in Baeza, all his efforts proved un-

* *Joseph de Jesus Maria*, lib. ii. c. 21.

availing; for when he had drunk the Most Precious Blood, and before he could replace the chalice on the altar, his soul was carried away by the divine communications, and he remained motionless as if dead. After some time he recovered himself partially; but being still unconscious of the place he was in, and of the act he had done, he came down from the altar, and made for the sacristy, that he might hide himself and be alone. The people were amazed, and looked one to the other in wonder and awe; at last a pious woman, mother Peñuela—so was she commonly called—broke the silence and cried out: 'The saint is unable to go on; call for the angels to finish the Mass, for they alone can do it with the true devotion.' The friars in the house heard of what had happened, and one of them came down into the church, led the holy man back to the altar, and helped him to finish the Mass.

The nuns of Caravaca were in sore trouble, and St. John of the Cross, at the request of St. Teresa, went thither to console them. While there the nuns saw rays of light around him at the altar, and the prioress, Mother Anne of St. Albert, asked him in the confessional—whither she betook herself to be ready for him as soon as he had made his thanksgiving—what had happened to him while at the altar; he replied at once, with great simplicity, that God revealed Himself to his soul with such force that he could

hardly complete the sacrifice, and that he was occasionally afraid to say Mass.

Doña Maria de la Paz thought the servant of God was a man without much learning, grounding her opinion on the simplicity of his speech, and the absence of that peculiar pomp which men who think themselves learned generally affect; but she never gave utterance to the thought. One day she went to his confessional, and before she could begin her confession, the holy man said,

'I am a sinner, my child, that is true; but I am not ignorant.'

'Why say that to me, father?' asked doña Maria.

'Because you need it,' was the answer of the saint.

The same lady on another occasion was troubled by some scruple or other, and wished to go to confession to one of the friars, and for that purpose went to the church. The brother to whom she spoke went to the father rector to ask for a confessor, without saying a word more. The saint said, 'Tell her to go home; there is no necessity for her to go to confession.' The brother delivered the message, and doña Maria was amazed.

On another occasion she was in the church, and in great distress of mind. St. John of the Cross came out of his confessional—around which a considerable crowd was waiting—and went up to her, heard her

confession at once, and sent her home calm and tranquil, delivered from all her troubles.

One day doña Maria wished to take a severe discipline, even unto blood. So she went to the saint and asked his permission. He consented at once, and ordered her to make use of a woollen cord for her purpose. She was a saintly woman, and obeyed him to the letter.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1579–81.

Peace restored to the order—Election of fra Jerome—The saint returns to Baeza from the chapter—made prior of Granada—his visits of ceremony—discourages begging—his charity.

THE storm that threatened to destroy the Carmel of St. Teresa died away in April 1579, when St. John of the Cross was vicar of the house in Corençuela. Two friars, fra John of Jesus and fra Diego of the Trinity, chosen by St. Teresa herself, were sent to Rome, to perfect the work begun by the Nuncio. Travelling in disguise, lest they should fall into the hands of their brethren of the mitigation, and be thrown into prison, they arrived in Rome safely, and notwithstanding much opposition, obtained from Gregory XIII. the separation of the friars of the reform from those of the mitigated observance. The Bull of the Pope is dated June 22, 1580, and was put into execution in the beginning of March 1581, in Alcala de Henares, when fra Jerome of the Mother of God was, by a majority of one, elected provincial of the order; St. John of the Cross being elected one of the definitors.

The storm from without was over, but the storm from within began to gather. Fra Jerome's election was brought about by the influence of St. Teresa

herself, exercised through the president of the chapter, fra Juan de las Cuevas, then prior of the Dominicans in Talavera. Fra Jerome was a pleasant and affectionate man, unwilling to displease anybody; a man of flowing and tender devotion; but wanting in that firmness of character which comes close to severity, because it is just. He had great gifts, and was one of the most conspicuous friars of the reform, singularly trusted by St. Teresa, who had a strong affection for him, though she had grave misgivings all the while. He had all the tenderness of St. Teresa, but he had not all her strength; he was generally wise and ready in the affairs of the order, but the common sense of the foundress had not been granted to him, and so he made enemies in his house, out of the very sincerity and simplicity of his heart. It is confessed that he was a most holy man, but of an effusive spirit, active if not restless, loving external work, and disinclined to be alone. A great preacher, full and flowing, and fond of the work, his winning ways and graceful habits made him popular in the world, and in that breath of applause that followed he unhappily dilated and felt its influence. Then the charm of his manner was so great, that hardly any one could resist it, and it nearly won over the stern hearts of some of his more resolute brethren. He did good service to his order, and though he did it in his own way, he did it innocently, firmly believing that the primitive rule which

he had professed fully sanctioned the many innovations of his rule.

St. Teresa knew that many of the friars were unwilling to elect him as their provincial, and it distressed her very much; but she knew that his election was then necessary for the order, and so she exerted all her strength to secure it. She hoped probably to supply that which was wanting in fra Jerome by the great gifts of fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, the famous Doria, who had made his profession about a year before. Fra Nicolas she wished to see elected as the fellow of the provincial, for his zeal and austerity would be a check on the easy gentleness of fra Jerome. She was not disappointed, for the friars elected fra Nicolas to be the fellow of the provincial; but fra Jerome, as if aware of the intentions of his brethren and bent on thwarting them, and too indulgent to his own will, continued fra Nicolas in his place as prior of Pastrana. He also made him provincial-vicar of New Castille, and at the same time announced his resolution to send him on behalf of the order to make known to the general what had been done in the chapter held in Alcala de Henares. This was removing fra Nicolas from Spain, and making it impossible for him to discharge the duties of the office in which he had been placed by his brethren. The friars believed that all this was done for the purpose of releasing himself

from the vexation of being constantly watched by so zealous a friar as fra Nicolas; they were probably not wrong, and resented his conduct. Nevertheless, it could hardly be a matter of doubt that fra Nicolas, a Genoese, was the fittest man in the order to send to Rome, for he was not only a most able and sagacious man, but also familiar with the habits of those to whom he was about to be sent.*

Fra Jerome in this disappointed both St. Teresa and the friars, and chose fra Bartholomew of Jesus for his fellow in the enforced absence of fra Nicolas; and it was not a good choice. St. Teresa had warned him, at least indirectly, for she was afraid of that friar because of his health, and because of the indulgencies he required on that account, and which it was certain the provincial would not refuse.

She warned him on the 17th February, 1581, before the chapter was held; but she returned to the subject again a month later; and on Good Friday, March 24th, writing to fra Jerome, she said, 'I should like to know what is become of fra Bartholomew; he would make a good prior,† The saint was too generous to speak more openly, but she did not hide her fears, and fra Jerome might have seen that she wished him to recognise the danger of his choice. Unhappily he did not: and as fra Bartholomew was too much under

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, i. p. 759.

† *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 320 and 329.

the spell of the provincial's manner, fra Jerome was never disturbed, and the complaints in the order became loud and strong.

St. John of the Cross returned to Baeza from the chapter: but either before he did so, or immediately after, wrote to St. Teresa to beg her to fulfil a promise she had once made him, that she would obtain his recall from Andalucia as soon as the separation of the barefooted friars from those of the mitigation should be accomplished. The two saints had not seen one another since they were both together in the monastery of the incarnation in Avila; so St. John writes from Baeza, July 6, 1581, to Mother Catherine of Jesus: 'Since I was swallowed up the whale'—he means his imprisonment in Toledo—'and cast forth in this strange haven, I never have been counted worthy to see her'—St. Teresa—'or the saints who are there.' Now that the friars of the reform were under their own provincial, he claimed the fulfilment of the promise and St. Teresa wrote accordingly to fra Jerome, on Good Friday of this year:

'I forgot to beg one thing of your paternity' she said, 'for my Easter cake. God grant you may give it. You must know that some time ago, when comforting fra John of the Cross in his distress at his having to live in Andalucia—he cannot bear its people—I told him I should ask for his removal to Castille, whenever God should let us be a province by our-

selves. He now claims the fulfilment of that promise, and is afraid they will elect him prior of Baeza. In his letter he asks me to beg your paternity not to confirm the election. If it be possible, it is only right he should have this comfort, for he has much to bear with. In fact, my father, I wish we had but few houses in Andalucia, for I believe they will do harm to those in Castille.'*

The two saints were by birth Castillians, and as such had a certain natural dislike to the Andalucians. St. Teresa herself had gone to Andalucia against her will, and it was out of the foundation in Seville, the first made in Andalucia—for that of Veas was not in Andalucia, though it was in the Carmelite province of Andalucia—grew the troubles which so nearly brought her reform to an end. She was never happy in Andalucia, and she confesses that she was not so 'weak and cowardly' anywhere as she was when making the foundation in Seville.†

Fra Jerome was unable to grant the grace which St. Teresa prayed for, and St. John of the Cross returned to Baeza. In his absence a lay brother had fallen ill, and by the rector of the house had been sent to the public hospital of the town, partly because of the inconvenience of nursing him in the infirmary, and partly because he could be better attended to there.

* Letter 329.

† *Foundations*, ch. xxv. § 1, p. 176, English translation.

St. John of the Cross was greatly displeased at this want of consideration, and severely rebuked the rector. He sent at once to the hospital, and had the lay brother brought home, and attended to, and that too with as much care as if he had been the provincial of the order.

He resigned the government of the house June 14th. At that time the priors were in office only two years, and he had entered on his in July 1579, when the house in Baeza was founded. But he was not allowed to rest as he had hoped, for the friars of Granada elected him prior.*

In Granada he succeeded one of his own novices of Pastrana, fra Augustin of the Kings, who had remembered and observed the lessons of his master. Fra Augustin lived and died as a saint, and after his death his body saw no corruption. Earnest, simple, and fervent, he governed his house according to the rule

* According to fra Jerome of St. Joseph, St. John of the Cross was elected prior of Granada 14th June 1581. And fra Antonio of St. Joseph, n a note to Lett. 31, vol. iii. of the *Letters of St. Teresa*, quotes the order of fra Diego of the Trinity for the foundation in Granada, in which fra Diego, Nov. 13 1581, describes St. John of the Cross as rector of the college of St. Basil in Baeza. Fra Francis of Santa Maria, the chronicler of the order, says vol. i. p. 428, that according to the register of Granada, St. John was made prior there the first time in 1582; in p. 827 he speaks of him as prior of Granada when he was in Veas, in October 1581; and 1582 is no doubt a misprint, for in the second volume of the *Chronicles*, p. 46, he says that he became prior of Granada in 1581.

and constitutions; and St. John had here no changes to make, nor fallen discipline to restore. The religious were docile and fervent, and the order of the house was exact.

The province was very large, too large for one visitor; so the provincial, fra Jerome, chose three vicars to help him. To fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria he gave New Castille; to fra Antonio of Jesus, Old Castille; and Andalucia to fra Diego of the Trinity The latter came down to Granada to make his visitation, and the only thing he found fault with was the great retirement in which the fathers lived; the prior was never seen outside his monastery, and the visitor thought he showed by his observance of the rule a want of due consideration for the friends and benefactors of the order. Indeed, some of the friars themselves had more than once hinted to the prior that he might return some of the visits which the great people of the city had made, and continued to make to the monastery.

St. John of the Cross, having learnt the wishes of his superior, the visitor, gave up his own opinion, and—it being Christmas time—made up his mind to respect them and call upon the archbishop and the president of the chancery. As the house of the latter was the nearer of the two to the monastery, he called there first, having one of his friars with him. The

president received him with the utmost respect and courtesy; for the saint, if not seen outside the monastery, was well known in the city. St. John, after the usual salutations, with great humility begged the president to excuse him for his past negligence. The president, in answer, said that there was nothing to be excused; 'for we like, father prior, to see you and your religious in your own houses rather than in ours; in the first you edify us, in the latter you entertain us.' The servant of God took his leave as quickly as he could; and without making his visit to the archbishop, returned to the monastery, saying to his companion, 'This man has put us and the whole order to shame; I wish we had all of us heard him, that we might be convinced how little we gain by this folly of making visits, which is a custom brought in by satan under the cloak of necessity.' Then as soon as he had returned to the house he told the community what had happened; and then added, 'My fathers, you cannot have a more trustworthy proof of what people in the world ask of us than this given by one of them; they do not want us as courtiers, but as saints; and that not in their own houses, but in ours, praying to God on their behalf.'

His religious on the whole, no doubt agreeing with him, were yet tempted from time to time to urge upon him certain maxims of prudence and discretion, which

they regarded as eminently safe and highly necessary to observe. They were not wholly weaned from the breasts of worldly wisdom, and would ask leave occasionally to pay certain visits which in their judgment were demanded of them by Christian charity and consideration for others, never, of course, for their own pleasure. He answered by asking them wherein a religious differed from people in the world if he must still do as they do. 'If the world,' he said, 'has brought in this custom of paying visits, our business is to act otherwise, because we are under another law.' He was always unyielding in this matter, afraid that the spirit of prayer would evaporate if the friars frequented the houses of people in the world.

One day a certain personage in Granada tried to move him from his course; he urged upon him the advantage of calling on some wealthy persons, who would then give him abundant alms, wherewith he might complete the building of the monastery. The servant of God replied: 'These people will give their alms either for my sake or for the sake of God; if the latter, there is no reason why I should press them; if for my sake, I see no reason why I should trouble them to give away their goods for so poor an end as giving pleasure to me.'

One night after compline, fra Augustin of St. Joseph, the procurator, came to him, and having told

him there was nothing in the house for the next day, asked leave to beg for the necessary food. 'Well,' said the saint, 'God has plenty of time to provide for us, we need not be in such a hurry to make Him a defaulter; we have had our supper; and He who gave us our supper to-night will give us our dinner to-morrow.' The procurator withdrew, but the next morning came back with the same request, and begged to be allowed to seek relief from those without who could grant it. The servant of God would not listen to him, notwithstanding his importunity and the distress he was in. The saint had put his whole trust in God, and was not put to shame; for while the friars were saying Prime, there came a man to the gate who asked the porter what it was the religious were in want of; he had been unable, he said, to sleep the whole night because of an interior voice which said: 'Thou art at ease, and the friars in the monastery of the martyrs are in want.' The porter told him that there was no food in the house, and the good man immediately supplied it.

Another day, another procurator, fra John of the Evangelist, begged leave to go out, to beg for food, there being none in the house. The saint as usual refused; the request was made again some time later, and the saint replied, 'Only one day; shall we never be patient? Go to your cell and pray.' The procurator went again and made the same request, saying that

the matter was pressing, because some of the friars were ill and required food. The saint bade him return, saying that he had very little trust in God, for his duty was to obtain succour for the house, not by begging, but by praying in his cell. The procurator went away with a heavy heart, but he soon came back, unable to bear the distress he was in, and said to the saint, 'Father, this seems to be a tempting of God, Who will have us do our utmost in our necessities; let me go out to beg.' The saint smiled and replied, 'Well, then, you may go; but you will be put to shame.' The procurator went out, and immediately met an officer of the chancery coming to the house with a good sum of money, a fine inflicted by the court and ordered to be given to the friars for the relief of their necessities.

Fra John of the Evangelist, having received the alms, went to the rector and told him how he had fared. The servant of God showed no sign either of pleasure or displeasure, but said to the procurator, who was very much ashamed of himself, that the alms would have given him more satisfaction if he had waited in his cell. 'Learn from this,' he said, 'that we are to live in poverty, and that the relief thereof is to come, not from our industry, but from our trust in God. Let us be really poor, for the religious who cast all their care upon God will never be in want.'

These lessons of the saint seem to have been forgotten from time to time, for on another occasion when the house was without food the procurator went in search of the servant of God, and found him in the church. He was hearing the confession of one of the great ladies of Granada, great also in her piety and goodness, doña Juana de Peraça. The procurator interrupted the confession to tell the saint that he had no food for the fathers and no money to buy it. The saint told him that the way to get food was to withdraw into his cell, and there obtain it from God by the hands of the faithful. The procurator went away; but harassed by his anxieties returned, and asked leave to go out to beg; receiving no answer from the saint, he repeated his request. Then the saint said: 'My brother, do not trouble yourself; I do not wish you to go out, neither is it necessary.' Doña Juana in the confessional heard all that passed, and asked the saint why he would not let the procurator go out, seeing that there was no other way of providing for the house. The saint answered that he could not let him go because there was a person coming to the monastery with alms. Doña Juana soon after left the church, and on her way home met a stranger who asked her if the prior was in the monastery of the martyrs. Doña Juana told her, and then asked her why she wished to know; the stranger replied that she was a suitor in the chancery, and

was going to the monastery with alms for Masses to obtain the help of God in her necessities. Doña Juana went home wondering; she believed that the servant of God had seen the woman in a trance into which he fell while she was in the confessional.

The saint, though he disliked and discouraged begging, lived on alms all his life, and cherished his poverty as a special grace from God. In populous and wealthy places, however, such as Baeza and Granada, he would allow two of the brothers to go out twice in the week, Wednesday and Saturday, to beg alms at the doors of houses: but that was done to keep people from saying that the houses he governed were always fed by miracle.* He had given up the world; he made his profession as a poor friar of our Lady of Carmel, and the rest of his life was spent in unceasing efforts to keep that profession pure and undefiled. He trusted in God and had no misgivings; he was His servant in His house, and he knew that the Master would provide for His household. But if he was thus hard with the procurators of little faith, he was never hard with any one in sickness or in need. He would go into the infirmary himself, and give their food and medicine to the sick. Once when a lay brother was very ill, and the physicians promised him only a little relief

* Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Historia*, lib. i, c. 26,

from a most expensive remedy, the saint, notwithstanding the poverty of the house, ordered that relief to be given at whatever cost.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1581.

Anne of Jesus—The saint founds a house in Granada—is insulted in the street—watches over the novices under Anne of Jesus.

THE people of Granada, edified by the friars, wished to have the nuns also of the new Carmel in their city, and some of the chief personages in it, especially two auditors of the chancery, the doctor Laguna, who died bishop of Cordova, don Luis de Mercado, afterwards a member of the supreme council of Castille, and a priest in 1591, pressed the matter upon fra Diego of the Trinity, the then provincial vicar of Andalucia. The vicar gave his consent, and when making his visitation of the monastery of the nuns in Veas, in the month of October 1581, made the matter known to the venerable Anne of Jesus, who had been prioress of Veas for six successive years, and was now a simple nun in the community. At that time the re-election of a prioress without an interval between each priorate was no violation of the constitutions of the order.

Anne of Jesus was then very ill, and, moreover, had no confidence in the promises that had been made to fra Diego, and was persuaded moreover that the arch-

bishop, don Juan de Salvatierra, would not allow another monastery to be built in Granada. One morning in communion she changed her mind, and having consulted her confessor, St. John of the Cross, she determined to go to Granada, as one of the nuns, hoping that St. Teresa herself would come from Avila for the foundation.

On the 13th of November, fra Diego ordered St. John of the Cross, at that time with him in Veas, to go to Avila, where St. Teresa was then staying, and bring her to Granada, with the care and consideration 'befitting her person and her years.'* St. John went and saw the mother of Carmel there for the first time since the seizure of his person in the cottage by the monastery of the incarnation in Avila, and his subsequent imprisonment by the friars of the mitigation in Toledo, but she could not go herself to Granada, because she was about to make a foundation in Burgos. The two saints were also as poor as they well could be, for on the 29th November 1581, the day on which she sent the nuns from Avila to Veas, for the foundation in Granada, she wrote thus to the father provincial, who was also himself in distress in Salamanca:

'Fra John of the Cross wished very much to send you some money, and fully counted on it, if he could

* *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 363; note of fra Antonio of St. Joseph, p. 7, vol. iii. Lett. 31.

spare a part of that which had been given him for his journey, but he could not. I think he will try to send you some. Antonio Ruiz . . . has give me four scudi for you: I am waiting for the means of sending them on. It is as much as I can do not to keep them myself, for as matters are at present I should not be surprised if I were tempted to steal.'*

St. John returned to Veas with two nuns from Avila, and another from Toledo, on the feast of the immaculate conception, and there the nuns remained till the middle of January. From Avila he brought the mother Mary of Christ, who had been prioress there for five years, with Antonia of the Holy Ghost, who was one of the four religious with whom St. Teresa began the reform of Carmel in the house of St. Joseph nineteen years before. From Toledo he brought Beatriz of Jesus, who had been long professed, and was a niece of St. Teresa. Meanwhile, during the journeyings of St. John of the Cross, fra Diego was busy in Granada, trying to overcome the objections of the archbishop, and searching for a house to lodge the community in.

On Monday, January 15 1582, the venerable Anne of Jesus, with her nuns, attended by St. John of the Cross and fra Pedro of the Angels, set out from Veas, in the cold of winter, at three o'clock in the morning. The company consisted of ten nuns, two of them being

* Letter 363.

lay sisters from Villanueva, and were conveyed in carriages, while the two friars rode on mules. During the journey none of their spiritual exercises were omitted, the hours of prayer and meditation were observed, and the divine office said devoutly as if they had been in choir in a monastery. In the inns at night they were carefully lodged, the friars taking every precaution against interruptions. They reached Dayfuentes on Friday, a village not far from Granada, and there were told that the house taken for them in the city could not be had. It had been hired of an alderman of Granada, who, when he heard that his tenants were religious, broke his promise, and refused to fulfil his bargain, though he was offered a large sum of money for it. The alderman was obstinate, and refused to have anything to with the religious, who had come from Veas relying on the contract he had made.

It was too late now to stop the nuns, who were on the road, though there was no house to be had in which they could be lodged even for a time. Their friends were therefore in the greatest trouble, not knowing what to do; besides, they had not obtained, and could not obtain, the consent of the archbishop to make the foundation: he was resolved to have no more nuns in the city.

On Friday night, while the nuns were still at Davfuentes, they heard the sound of fearful thunder.

The tempest raged in Granada, and the palace of the Archbishop was struck; part of his library was burnt, and some of his mules were killed. The lightning entered close to the room where he was sleeping, and he was so much frightened as to become ill, and to keep his bed at least for the following day.

There was in Granada a penitent of St. John of the Cross, doña Ana de Mercado y Peñalosa, a widow who lived in great retirement, mourning the loss of her husband and an only daughter. She dwelt in a good house, with her brother, don Luis de Mercado, who was one of the chief persons who had urged the foundation, and on whom now pressed the whole charge of the nuns. Don Luis said to his sister, 'The nuns are on the road, and it would be well if they could come here till they can find a house.' Doña Ana, knowing nothing of her brother's trouble, not only gave her consent, but busied herself in making the necessary arrangements, especially in furnishing a room to be used as a chapel. At three o'clock on the morning of Saturday, January 20th 1582, the two friars, with the nuns, came to the door and there stood doña Ana ready to receive them.

Anne of Jesus, of whom St. Teresa had just written that she 'would have everything under her own control,'* took possession of the house, as if it were her own, and, on entering, began with the nuns to

* *Letters of St. Teresa*, Lett. 363, Nov. 20 1581.

sing *Laudate Dominum*. She then ordered the doors to be shut, and would not let any of the friars, not even the vicar of the province, who was present, say Mass before she communicated with the archbishop.

She sent a letter to the archbishop announcing her arrival in Granada, and begged his blessing. She also begged him to come and reserve the most Holy, adding that though it was a feast day, she would not hear Mass without his sanction. It was said that the archbishop was much changed after the storm, and it seems that there was truth in the report. He sent word back that he was sorry he could not come himself, being unwell, but he would send his vicar-general, who would say Mass, and do all that Anne of Jesus desired. The vicar came, and at seven o'clock said Mass, gave communion to the nuns, and reserved the most Holy.

St. John of the Cross, when thus dismissed with the provincial vicar, returned to his own house, and left the matter in the hands of the venerable Anne of Jesus; but he had afterwards to supply her with food and many necessary things; for it happened here, as in other places, that wealthy and generous benefactors of the Carmelites never observed the distress they were in. The people of the city also, seeing crowds of the poor daily relieved at her door, never suspected, any more than doña Ana did herself, that the ten nuns within were often in want. St. Teresa was left

in want of food by her friend, doña Luisa de la Cerdo, and again in Seville, though her friends were rich and many. Doña Ana saw the nuns always contented and cheerful, and never suspecting that they were hiding their needs from her, left them in sore distress, so that St. John of the Cross, out of his poverty, had to come to their relief.

Soon after this the servant of God, coming out from his monastery, was met in the street by a woman with a child in her arms. She held out the child before him, and asked him to maintain it, for it was his own. The holy man bade her begone, but she persisted in following and insulting him. At last he stopped, for a crowd was gathering, and calmly asked her who was the mother of the child. The wretched woman answered it was a great lady in Granada, against whom nothing could be said, for nobody knew any evil of her.

'How long has she lived in Granada?' asked the saint.

The answer was that she was born in the place, and had never been half a league away from it all her life.

'How old is the child?' asked the saint.

The woman answered, 'About twelve months.'

'Ah' says the saint, 'it is a grand miracle, for I have not been a year in Granada yet, and in the whole

course of my life have never been within many leagues of it.'

The people who had gathered around laughed, and then hooted the woman, though they were ready to hoot the saint a minute before. The man of God went calmly on his way perfectly undisturbed.

At this time, in addition to the government of his own house and the care of many penitents who came to him, he had to watch over and encourage the nuns in the new foundation, begun, as usual, in complete poverty. Many religious of all the orders in the city, and devout people of great prudence living in the world, visited the nuns from time to time, and the sum of their conversation was the rashness of beginning the foundation in such poverty and in utter absence of human comforts. Prudent and discreet persons! The venerable Anne of Jesus was a child of St. Teresa, and a penitent of St. John of the Cross, so she remained unmoved by such wisdom as this.

After waiting for seven months the nuns found a house, and meanwhile more than two hundred persons sought admission into the community. In all that number, however, Anne of Jesus says in her account of the foundation, there was not one whom she could accept. Some of them she refused at once, and others she recommended to study their way of life, promising to try them as soon as she found a house of her own. She accepted six novices at last, whom St. John of

the Cross watched over, and instructed in the way of prayer and perfect detachment from all created things.

Some of the novices grew alarmed at the severities of their new life, and were tempted to leave the monastery. One of these made up her mind to depart; the life was so hard and the temptation so strong. St. John of the Cross knew of her trials, and knowing also how long the temptation would last, said to her one day, 'I do not wish to persuade you to take the veil, but I ask you to consider yourself as being in prison on account of your sins for the next two months, and then you can go.' The novice went her way rejoicing, thinking that she could well bear her pain for two months, if then it should be over. But when the two months had passed by, and the day of her departure had come, she found herself unable to go; she had changed her mind, and now begged to remain. She made her profession in due time, and never forgot how much she owed to the wise counsel of her confessor.

Another novice kept secret from the prioress and the other nuns the resolution she had formed to quit the monastery. She, however, did not hide it from St. John; but he laughed at her, and said that she did not know her own mind. Some time after she was attacked by a disease which was regarded as incurable, and then in her distress she went to the

saint and told him she was afraid the nuns would keep her in the monastery out of pure charity, but would never suffer her to make her profession. The saint asked her what had become of her purpose to return to the world. She had even forgotten that she ever had such a purpose, and now had no wish to leave. The saint bade her be of good cheer; as the temptation, so the illness passed away, and the novice was professed.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1582—1585.

Troubles in the order—Fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria—Chapter of Almodovar—The saint opposes the re-election of the priors and the foreign missions—Famine—Writings of the saint—Foundation in Malaga—Restoration of a nun to health—Mary of Christ—The saint in Malaga.

THE death of St. Teresa, October 4 1582, brought out into clearer light the discontent of the friars, who, disliking the gentle sway of fra Jerome of the Mother of God, their provincial, persuaded themselves that he was a source of disorder and laxity, and that regular observance was failing under his rule. While St. Teresa lived, the murmurings of the fathers were not always loud, but they were not unknown to her; and now that her departure had come, the friars felt themselves free, and made their grave apprehensions public. The provincial was so tender-hearted that he could scarcely be persuaded to visit any of his subjects with chastisement, and that grave defect was not counterbalanced by watchfulness in hindering disorders which might need correction. He was unwilling to refuse any man anything, and, on the other hand, the friars, and it is to their credit, wished to be ruled with a strong hand and a resolute will. St. Teresa, notwithstanding her marvellous affection

for fra Jerome, was not blind to these shortcomings. About a month before her death she wrote a long letter to him: 'You have great need of fra Nicolas,' fra Jerome had sent him to Rome, 'for I think it impossible for you to do all the work yourself.' She then goes on, and it must have cost her much to say it: 'Fra Juan de las Cuevas thinks so too . . . He says you are going against the regulations that have been made, in not choosing another fellow—I do not remember if he said with the consent of the priors—and that he thought it was not possible for you to do all that ought to be done; that Moses had I know not how many to aid him. To this I answered, that you could not help it; you could hardly find friars enough to be priors. His answer was, that your having a fellow was the chief thing. Since I came here, to Valladolid, I have heard that you are accused of being unwilling to have any friar of weight near you. I know the reason is that you cannot help it; but as the chapter is near at hand now, I wish they had nothing to say against you. Look to this for the love of God, and consider how you preach in Andalucia.'*

The chapter of which the great saint spoke was held at Almodovar on the 1st of May in the following year, 1583. St. John of the Cross, as prior of Granada, was present. Fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria

* Lett. 400, Sept. 1 1582.

had returned from Italy, whither he had been sent to give the general an account of the new province of the barefooted friars. He was one of those who disliked the government of fra Jerome, because of its ease and the risks of laxity involved in it.

Fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria was one of the most distinguished men in the order, and St. Teresa herself held him in great respect, though she did not like him as she liked fra Jerome. She wished very much that the two friars were friends, and did all she could not only to keep the peace between them, but also to make them respect and cherish each other.* Fra Nicolas was a man of strong will, perhaps stern, certainly unbending, while fra Jerome was soft and tender, unable to resist. Each had great gifts, but they were not the same; and now, St. Teresa being dead, the two friars came together, and there was no one to make peace between them.

Fra Nicolas, on his way to Almodovar, travelled on foot for the most part, with an ass to carry his and his fellow's mantle. In the inn at Toledo, where they rested for the night, they were overtaken by fra Jerome with his companion, fra Gregorio, each on a mule well caparisoned. Fra Nicolas did not like the sight, so he said to the provincial, as if in jest, but really in serious earnest, 'How came your paternity and companion to break the rule so lately

* Lett. 244, July 7 1579.

made by yourself, that we are not to use saddles?' The provincial answered in the only way possible for him, he made a change in the saddle; but fra Nicolas was not satisfied; and the provincial at last, with his companion, had his mule brought down to the poor state of the wretched ass, which fra Nicolas led on the way.

Again, there was more trouble on the road; for when they arrived in Malagon, the nuns there, to do honour to their friars, and especially to their provincial, entertained them in their monastery, and gave them a dinner which fra Nicolas regarded as wholly unbecoming the profession of poverty in Carmel. He looked at the fat capons and the partridges, with other meats of the like nature, and then, unable to restrain himself, he cried out, 'Are we, my fathers, going into chapter for the reform of the order, and eating food like this? For my part, I shall have something else, if I can get it; let who will eat meat, I will not.' The friars were made ashamed, and many of them withdrew from the table.

This was not a good preparation for the chapter. The more austere friars were dissatisfied with fra Jerome, and turned their eyes towards fra Nicolas as the true guardian of the reform, which they fully believed to be in great danger in the hands of fra Jerome.

The chapter assembled on the third Sunday after Easter, May 1 1583, and having elected the four definitors, discussed the election of the priors. St. John of the Cross wished the election to be made in the monasteries, and not in the provincial chapter, but the chapter decided against him, and keeping the rule it had made, elected him once more prior of Granada.

The saint not only objected and disapproved of this rule, by which the priors were to be elected in the general chapter, but further pressed upon the fathers the change in the practice of re-election, saying that it was not good to continue the same persons in office, the effect of which was to make men ambitious and fond of power. He begged them to allow at least an interval during which the priors might remain subject, which would be profitable to them and highly advantageous to the order, for in that way it would have more men fitted to be priors, because there would be more with experience trained for government. Many of the fathers were of his opinion, but the greater number thought otherwise, and for the present the practice of re-election was preserved.*

The provincial proposed new foreign missions, but St. John of the Cross spoke very strongly against the proposal, and reminded the fathers of the duties of

* *Joseph de Jesus Maria*, lib. iii. c. 1, p. 715.

prayer and retirement, which were theirs in a special way; there were other orders, he said, to undertake the missions, for which they were fitted, and for which they might be said to have been founded. The reform of Carmel was founded for another purpose, and would be endangered if it did not keep its own rule and foster the spirit thereof. The friars were bound not to go abroad, but to remain at home in their cells, meditating day and night in the law of God, seeking their own sanctification, and striving after perfection. Charity towards our neighbours, he said, must be directed by the law of life under which we are living; for if it were not, nothing would come of it but confusion and the ruin of the order.

Fra Jerome, the provincial, had set his heart on the foreign missions, and was marvellously given to external work, preaching everywhere, and even lecturing. He did not think as St. John of the Cross did, so he answered the saint; and in the end his judgment prevailed.

Before he left Almodovar, the servant of God took an opportunity of speaking privately to the provincial of the danger he feared from his government of the order. In the chapter itself this matter had been already entertained, and even the deposition of the provincial had been spoken of as a possible necessity. St. John now, fearless in his charity, represented in all humility, as a subject should, the great need there

was of certain changes in his way of governing the friars, and of greater strictness. Too much heed was given to the revelations and visions of nuns, too much license in going abroad to preach and hear confessions, and then too much indulgence, made perhaps necessary, to those who were wearied by work which was not really the work of a friar of the reform of Carmel. The servant of God delivered his own soul, and having done so went his way, but with a heavy heart.

The next year, 1584, was a year of sore distress and famine in Spain, especially in Andalucia. The people from the country around flocked into Granada, the wealthy city, asking for the bread which they could not find at home. St. John, like his Master, had compassion on the multitude struggling with hunger, and though living upon alms himself, and with a large household to maintain, gave alms abundantly out of the riches of his poverty. In the first place, he employed as many men as he could on the buildings of the monastery, which he carried on during the famine, and with the money he received from the charitable he bought all the corn he could, and charged the porter at the gate to distribute it to the poor, and never to send any one empty away. The more he relieved, the more came from all quarters of the city for relief, and at last many even of the noble families confided to the saint their state of helpless

destitution. St. John's heart was full of tenderness for those who were ashamed to beg. These also he relieved, and even maintained, by means of two lay brothers whom he sent out with the necessary succours; but he himself dwelt within the monastery, in his cell in prayer and in the discharge of his duties in the community.

Though he ministered to the wants of so many, he did not neglect the friars; he provided for them as if there had been no famine in the land; while to human eyes all the resources of the house were at the service of the multitudinous poor, who but for his help and trust in God would have died of hunger in the streets.

The great meekness of the saint was now tested in Granada. He had to correct one of the friars for some fault or other, and did so in his accustomed way, very seriously but very tenderly. The poor friar utterly forgot himself, and instead of receiving his correction meekly, burst out in a flood of angry and unseemly language, and even reviled his superior. The servant of God did not check him, but threw himself on the ground, and remained prostrate while the friar's anger lasted, and then rising, addressed him as he should have addressed his superior, saying, 'For the love of God,' and went away. The friar's eyes were then opened to the extravagance of his conduct, and with recovered senses went and threw himself at his father's feet, confessing his wrong, and thanking him for hav-

ing borne so patiently with him in his waywardness.

He was at this time writing the explanation of the spiritual canticle *Adonde Te escondiste*, composed in the prison in which the friars of the mitigation held him in Toledo. We owe this service to the venerable Anne of Jesus, whose importunities overcame the saint's reluctance to write. The book was dedicated to her, and is now religiously kept by the carmelites of Jaën.* At the same time he occupied himself, at the urgent request of his penitent, doña Ana de Peñalosa, in writing his explanation of another of his hymns, and the most wonderful of them all perhaps, *O Llama de amor viva.* He yielded to the request of doña Ana with great unwillingness, because the hymn is of matters so interior and spiritual as to be beyond the compass of human speech. He always wrote after earnest prayer, without help from any books whatever, and very slowly, lest he should be carried away and make his work the expression of mere human wisdom, rather than that of the Holy Ghost, Whose work is never hurried.

In December of this year, 1584, the provincial, fra Jerome of the Mother of God, sanctioned the foundation of a monastery of nuns in Malaga, where the friars had established themselves about six months before. Fra Jerome could not go to Malaga himself, so he sent St. John of the Cross, who was at the time

*Garnica, *Ensayo Historico*, p. 234.

vicar provincial of Andalucia, as well as prior of Granada. When the order of the provincial was brought to St. John, the latter was in constant attendance on the sister Isabel of the Incarnation, believed to be in her last illness. The servant of God was therefore troubled, for he must leave his penitent in the hour of her greatest distress because of the order of the provincial. He betook himself to prayer, and while so employed was sent for to the sick nun, whom the physician believed to be at the point of death. The saint went to her at once, and having heard her confession gave her the last sacraments. But suddenly inspired of God, he began to read the gospel of St. Mark, and when he came to the words, 'upon the sick they shall lay their hands,' he laid his hands on the sister who was in her agony, and the sickness departed from her. The next day she left her bed, the physicians confessing that her healing was miraculous.

He now set out on his journey to Malaga, with the nuns who were to be the founders of the house there. Mary of Christ, the prioress of the new foundation, and whom he had brought from the house of St. Joseph in Avila to the new monastery in Granada, had a grievous fall, which rendered her unconscious; the nuns around her seeing the blood flow abundantly from her head, while she gave no signs of life, began to bemoan her as one who was dead. Meanwhile, the servant of God came up to them, and laid his hand

on the wound; the sister rose up, and went on her way with the others, as if no accident had taken place.

They arrived in Malaga, seven nuns, one of them being Antonia of the Holy Ghost, who in 1562 was with St. Teresa when she founded the house of St. Joseph in Avila; and on the 17th of February 1585 the new monastery was founded, under the patronage of St. Joseph, St. John of the Cross saying the first Mass.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1585.

The saint in the chapter of Lisbon—Election of a new provincial—Prophecy of the saint—Mary of the Visitation—The saint made vicar of Andalucia—Corrects certain abuses.

THE provincial, being in Lisbon at this time, summoned the chapter to meet there for the election of his successor. On May 10 1585, the priors and their fellows arrived in Lisbon, and the next morning, Saturday, May 11, the provincial, fra Jerome of the Mother of God, was elected the first definitor; the second definitor was St. John of the Cross; the third, fra Antonio of Jesus, at that time prior of Seville; he, however, begged to be excused on account of his health, and his place was filled by the prior of Malaga, fra John of the Baptist, who became the fourth definitor, the third being the prior of Valladolid, fra Gregory of Nazianzum.

There was no question about the re-election of fra Jerome as provincial, and he had to propose his own successor. He knew there was no one in the order, of one mind with him, whom the fathers would accept as their provincial; and he knew too that his successor, because of the differences that had grown up, would put an end to much that he had established

himself. Fra Jerome was honest, and faithful to his trust, and proposed as his successor the only friar in the order who could in any way be regarded as his rival or his opponent. This was fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, then absent in Genoa, founding a house of the order there. Fra Jerome, if deficient in some things, was not selfish; he loved the order, and now deliberately sacrificed himself.

Of the thirty priors and their fellows who came to the chapter, two were not duly accredited, and thus the election was made by twenty-eight voices. Of these, twenty-six were given to fra Nicolas, the others were given to fra Mariano of St. Benedict and fra Alonso of the Angels. The election thus made, nearly with one consent, was, no doubt, in unison with the wishes of the order generally; but it was the beginning also of a great strife, and St. John of the Cross said, 'The provincial has elected the man who will drive him out of the order.' The prophecy was fulfilled, if prophecy it was, for some have said human sagacity alone was enough to discern the ruin of fra Jerome through the fiery zeal of fra Nicolas. The saint, however, lived to see only the preparations for the expulsion of fra Jerome, who continued for nearly three months in the order after the servant of God had gone to his rest.

But if he did not speak in the spirit of prophecy when he foretold the issues of this election, his great gift in the discerning of spirits was revealed

again on this occasion. There was at this time in Lisbon a nun whose fame was spread abroad, and whose sanctity was taken for granted. Her raptures, her colloquies with our Lord, and the shining of her face filled people with wonder, and the multitude of those, learned and unlearned, who were deceived has never been counted. Her picture was found everywhere, and pieces of her habit were preserved as precious relics by devout people.* Mary of the Visitation—that was her name in religion—was prioress of the monastery of the annunciation, of the order of St. Dominic in Lisbon, and became an object of curiosity, at least, to the Carmelite friars who had come together for the general chapter; all of whom except St. John of the Cross went to see her, and came away, as all the world had done, fully persuaded of her supernatural state. St. John of the Cross never went near her, and one day fra Augustin of the Kings asked him to go with him to visit the famous nun. The servant of God refused; 'for why should I go,' he said, 'to see a woman who is full of delusion? Let us not speak of her; God will soon make her wickedness known.' Even before this time the wretched state of that nun had been revealed to St. John of the Cross; for on one occasion, when he was in Castille, fra Bartholomew of St. Basil showed him a small bottle, holding some of the water which the nun was in the habit

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, lib. vi. c. 41, § 4, and c. 46, § 4.

of blessing. The servant of God, unable to control himself when he saw so saintly a man as fra Bartholomew treating with respect that which was worthy of none, took the bottle out of his hand, and threw the water away. Yet he was habitually most cautious in his treatment of all persons whatever who were religious, and careful of their good name. Soon afterwards the inquisitors of Lisbon took the nun into their care, and after diligently examining her, discovered the fraud. The poor nun was not only deluded herself, but which is much worse, was also deliberately deluding others.

It was probably during his journey back to Granada from this chapter that he was miracuously preserved from death. He was overtaken by the darkness of the night on a rough and precipitous road, and the ass on which he rode stumbled in a most dangerous spot, and the saint thrown off, was for a moment rolling down the steep towards a precipice, where he must have been killed. He, on the point of falling still lower, felt himself held back by a hand offering him a piece of cloth, which he seized, and by which he was drawn back. Anne of Jesus, in a trance, saw the danger of the saint, and prayed earnestly that he might not perish. On his return to Granada, the venerable mother asked him what had happened to him at such an hour on such a day; he told her, and

then added, 'It was you, my mother, then, who came to my relief.'*

The absence of the new provincial rendered it impossible for the chapter to discuss the affairs of the order; accordingly, as soon as they had done all that was necessary for the validity of the election, they sent two of their brethren to Genoa, to announce it to fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria. The deputies reached Genoa on July 7, and in the beginning of October 1585, fra Nicolas returned to Spain. He reassembled the chapter at once, and the friars, October 17, met in Pastrana. The chapter divided the province into four vicariates to be governed by the four definitors elected in Lisbon; that of Andalucia was given to St. John of the Cross, while the former provincial, fra Jerome of the Mother of God, who had not yet left Lisbon, was intrusted with the government of the vicariate of Portugal.

These vicars had more authority now than they had under fra Jerome, for they were appointed in the chapter and by it; whereas, formerly, the vicars of fra Jerome were merely his delegates, and remained in office only so long as it pleased him to retain them. Under fra Nicolas the government was stronger, and the constitutions more carefully observed; the growing laxness was corrected, and men were brought back under the rigid and unbending rule of Doria to the

* Berthold Ignace de Sainte Anne, vol. I. p. 353.

primitive customs which had their beginnings in Duruelo and Pastrana. St. John of the Cross was not less zealous than the provincial, though less austere, more gentle with others, but not less an enemy of all laxity.

From the chapter in Pastrana the saint returned to Granada, charged with the care of thirteen monasteries, seven of men and six of women. These he visited regularly and diligently, inquiring into everything most minutely, and correcting with all charity anything he found amiss. It was impossible to resist him, for he lived in every house he visited as the least of his brethren, sitting in the lowest place, and taking his own only in the public duties of the house and choir. He never allowed the friars to minister to him apart from the others, notwithstanding his office, and he was always with the community, as one of the house. He went over the whole monastery, and never left anything unvisited; but he was specially attentive to the sick. He did the work of the house too as if he were a member of it, waited at table in the refectory in his turn, heard confessions and preached, and a stranger could not have distinguished the vicar of the provincial from the other friars of the house.

His example of perfect humility moved the hearts of men, and he had no difficulty in commanding, for the obedience of his children was prompt; the most stubborn had not the courage to resist when the vicar was

so detached from self. Some murmurs may perhaps have been heard, coming from those who had begun to like their ease, but they were soon hushed; for none could withstand a visitor who read in the refectory, made the beds of the sick in the infirmary, washed the feet of the guests, and went to the garden with the novices to dig.

There was one abuse which had crept in, by degrees and day by day, under the rule of the late provincial. The preachers of the order, popular and learned men, had persuaded fra Jerome and themselves that what they were doing for souls was a great work, before which the less important work of keeping the rule ought to give way. St. John of the Cross did not understand matters as they did; so he at once resolutely set his face against practices which had become too common and full of danger to the order. In Lent and Advent the friars, given to preaching, spent half their time out of the monastery, not to their own spiritual gain, and to the scandal of the people in the world. They were absent from choir, for they must study in order to preach, and they obtained dispensation from the fasts of the order if not from those of the Church, and from the abstinence from fleshmeat, because they must keep their bodily strength. Thus one good work destroyed another, and men gave up their own duties in order to discharge duties which were not theirs. The servant of God did not think as

they did, for in his eyes the first duty of the friars was to keep the rule. As he never listened to those doctrines of charity which tended to confusion, so he insisted upon having everything in its place. The friars must first of all discharge the duties laid upon them by their religious profession; for unless these were discharged faithfully, there could be no progress of the soul in goodness, nor security for any good work, and the vocation itself, thus trifled with, would be in danger of being lost.

While travelling from one monastery to another, he never went out of his way to see anything curious. Continually in the presence of God, he was either silent in prayer or conversing with his fellow of the things of heaven; sometimes, like St. Wulstan of Worcester, he would even chant the psalms aloud. While making his visitations, on arriving at a monastery he went straight to the church to pray before the Most Holy, and then to the infirmary to see the sick, if any sick were there. One night after Compline, when the law of silence prevails, he arrived at a house very late. At the door the prior and all the religious stood to receive him, and, in making manifest their joy at seeing him, broke the silence; he looked reproachfully at them; and went straight to his cell, without uttering a word. If he was strict with others, he was strict also with himself.

At this time he received in Granada a visit from

the provincial of an order, a man of great consideration for his office sake, and also for his distinguished birth. The servant of God must, for some grave reasons, depart from his usual habit, and visit in return the provincial, who had so honoured him. After some conversation, the latter asked the saint how he liked his monastery, which was outside the city.

'Well enough,' answered the servant of God; 'for it is a lonely place, and I like solitude.'

The provincial then said, 'Your reverence must be the son of a farmer to like the country so much.' In his tone there was something like contempt.

'Ah, most reverend father, I am not so much as that; my father was a poor weaver,' was the answer of the servant of God.

He was a true child of St. Teresa, who, when she heard that fra Jerome of the Mother of God had been searching into her pedigree on one occasion in Avila, said to him, in some displeasure, that it was enough for her to be a child of the Church, and that it distressed her more to have fallen into one venial sin than it could do to be the daughter of the lowest of the people.* Fra Diego of the Most Holy Sacrament, who was with the saint, and present at the time when the provincial indulged his vanity at the expense of St. John of the Cross, said that all who heard the

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, i. p. 17.

conversation looked at one another with amazement. They were pained at the vanity of the provincial, who had left the world, and wondered at the humility of the poor Carmelite. On another occasion, some of his friars told some people with whom they were conversing that St. John of the Cross had been prior of a certain monastery; but he, overhearing the words, and afraid that his brethren were boasting, turned round, and said, 'I was also cook there.'

God gave him light to enable him to discharge his duties in a very wonderful way, as if in reward of his great diligence in his work. On his return from one of his visitations, he found fra Alonso of the Mother of God, the master of novices in Granada, in great distress of mind. Fra Alonso was so overcome by spiritual dryness and interior darkness, that he thought he ought to give himself up to the inquisitors; but before doing so he laid bare the state of his soul before the vicar of the province, St. John of the Cross. The servant of God, when he had listened to his story, smiled, and said, 'Go, you silly one; all that is nothing;' and fra Alonso went his way, with a mind perfectly at rest.

Two novices had been received in the house during his absence; one a priest, the other a deacon. The servant of God went to see them in the novitiate; and on coming out told the master that the deacon would give them much trouble, and at last leave the order.

The prophecy was fulfilled in due time, for the friars found it was necessary to take the habit from him, and send him away.

On another occasion, on his return to the house, the fathers asked him to admit a novice, of good family and great learning. The servant of God was most unwilling to do so, and warned the fathers of the consequences. The prior and the community thought they were in some way bound to admit him, and did so; but soon after his wife and two children came to the monastery in quest of the novice, who had abandoned them, and the fathers were obliged to send him away.

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1586.

Foundation in Segovia—The saint in Caravaca—visits Peñuela—founds a monastery in Cordova—visits Seville—Miraculous escape—Fra Martin and the novices—Anne of Jesus sent to Madrid—Miracle—Bujalance—Caravaca.

DOÑA ANA DE MERCADO y Peñalosa, the penitent of the saint, was a widow, and having now to fulfil the testamentary dispositions of her husband, don Juan de Guevara, who had charged her to found either a hospital or a monastery in Segovia, the place of his birth, took the advice of her confessor, St. John of the Cross, and, with the full consent of her brother, don Luis, auditor of the chancery of Granada, offered the provincial to found a monastery of the friars of the reform of Carmel. The provincial accepted the foundation, and finding St. John of the Cross disliked entering the vicariate of Castille, within which Segovia lay, he ordered the vicar, fra Gregorio of Nazianzum, to establish the house. Fra Gregorio executed his commission, and took possession May 3 1586. Meanwhile the servant of God was on his visitation, and early in the year, at Caravaca, where a saintly penitent of his, the mother Anne of St. Albert, was prioress, to whom St. Teresa herself had

given the habit. Mother Anne spoke to him of the loss it was to the community that there were no friars of Carmel in Caravaca. The servant of God replied, 'Why do you not bring them here?' Mother Anne smiled, for she knew how difficult it was, and how much beyond her strength. St. John then bade her be of good courage, to pray to our Lord, and make the community also pray, promising to do the same himself. He knew that the time was come; and he had had a revelation when prior of Baeza that a monastery of friars was to be founded in Caravaca.

He then left the mother prioress, and, having vested himself, proceeded to say Mass. As soon as he had ascended the steps of the altar, the prioress saw a light around the servant of God, which became more and more brilliant as he went on with the Mass. At first it seemed to issue forth out of the tabernacle, after the consecration, from the Sacred Host; and the priest in the midst of it seemed to shine as a most clear sun. The Mass lasted very long, but it was a wonderful joy to all the nuns, whose tears flowed in the sweetness which it brought them.

When the servant of God had made his thanksgiving, he was called to the confessional, where he found the mother prioress waiting for him, more, however, for the purpose of hearing his confession, than of making her own.

'Father,' she asked, 'why was the Mass so long?'

The servant of God asked her how long it lasted.

'When we taste divine things a long time seems but short. Perhaps you had a vision,' said the prioress.

'I saw,' replied the saint, 'what you, too, have been allowed to see.'

'I should like to know,' was the answer of the prioress; 'for what I saw must have been very little. At least, it hindered you in the saying of the Mass, for you were a long time at the altar.'

'So it was, child,' said the saint. And then there was a silence; for he fell into a trance. But when he returned to himself he said, 'God showed great things to me, a sinner, and that in such majesty that I was unable to go on with the Mass.'

The mother prioress still insisted, and asked for more information; and then the saint, overcome by her importunity, said, 'My soul is now so full of heavenly consolations that I dare not be alone and recollected; they are too much for my strength. Now and then I refrain from saying Mass, for I am afraid that something marvellous will take place. I have asked our Lord to give me more strength, or to take me away, but that will not be while I have the care of souls.' The servant of God had prayed that he might not die while holding any office in the order, and believed that his prayer was heard.

Doña Ana de Peñalosa was now making her

preparations for the foundation to be made in Segovia, writing from time to time an account of her progress to the vicar provincial in Caravaca. One day, the saint having written a letter to doña Ana, and not having the means of sealing it, gave it to the mother prioress, and begged her to seal it, and send it. Anne of St. Albert took the letter, and even read it. The next day another letter was brought from doña Ana for the vicar provincial, and the messenger waited for the answer. Having read the letter, the saint gave it to the mother prioress—for it concerned her also—and told her there was no necessity for writing; the letter written the day before was sufficient answer. When the prioress had read the letter from doña Ana, she understood why the saint would not write; he had written a full answer to all her difficulties the day before when he could have known them by no natural means.

About the middle of February of this year, 1586, he left Caravaca for Peñuela, the house of strict observance and austerity. He remained there during Lent, going to Liñares three times every week, on foot, to preach, returning in the same way, not accepting even food in the city. Fra Marco of St. Francis thinks that he undertook this work on behalf of one of the fathers of Peñuela, who was hindered in some way from doing it himself; for it was much against his will to be seen anywhere in public, unless

occupied in the duties of his state, and this preaching at that time was not one of them.

From Peñuela he went to Cordova, where a house was offered him for a monastery, and he gladly took possession of it May 18th, 1586, the Sunday after the Ascension. Having placed it under the rule of his novice in Pastrana, fra Augustine of the Kings, as prior, he went to Seville. There he found that the fathers were too often and too long out of their monastery, especially during Lent and Advent. The excuse for this was preaching, but the servant of God would not accept it; so he ordered matters otherwise,* and the rule he made is the groundwork of that which was afterwards embodied in the constitutions of the order.†

The nuns in Seville were lodged in an unfitting place; and St. Teresa herself had not been able to find a house for them according to her desires. But now, in the beginning of June 1586, they had found a better house, and the vicar of the province settled them in their new dwelling. Among the nuns, and but lately professed, was a sister of the late provincial, fra Jerome, a nun of great gifts and saintly life. Sister Juliana of the Mother of God was not ignorant of the difference between her brother and the provincial, fra Nicolas, and therefore not without fear for the future. St. John of the Cross spoke to her and consoled

* See below, ch. xix.

† *Reforma de los Descalços*, lib. vii. c. 40, §. 4.

her, exhorting her to persevere in the careful observance of the duties of her state, and bidding her be of good courage and patient so as to be able to stand firm when the storm should burst.

From Seville the saint returned to Cordova, to see the progress of the new foundation, which was very great, and for which he gave God thanks. The friars were held in great reverence by the people; but he, in that clearness of vision which humility gives, detected a spirit among his brethren, hateful in itself, which he hated with his whole heart; they wished to stand well with the world, for the greater glory of God.

One day, a friar in his sermon spoke of the gratitude of the community to the people of Cordova for their generous support of the monastery; his language was oratorical and somewhat extravagant; and it brought down upon himself, and the whole house, the sharp reprehensions of the saint. The servant of God was full of gratitude to all men who rendered the slightest service; nevertheless, he spoke with some severity to the friars, and charged them on no account whatever to say anything of the affairs of the house when handling the word of truth. In doing so, they would be probably praising themselves indirectly; and than must be avoided, because unbecoming the simplicity and sincerity which should be the distinctive mark of a religious, and especially of a religious of Carmel.

At this time there were workmen busy in the

monastery; and, among other things which they had to do, they had to throw down a wall, in order to build the new church. They had made their preparations for throwing it down without any injury, as they believed, to the house, but they made a mistake, and the whole mass fell on the cell of St. John of the Cross. He was in it at the time, and everybody believed that he was crushed to death. The fallen mass was cleared away in the utmost haste, but all were without hope of seeing the servant of God alive. To their amazement and joy, they found him in a corner of the cell, standing. He had not been even touched by the falling stones; he came forth, as soon as they made way for him, smiling and unhurt. For a moment their joy was so great that they could not speak; at last they asked him how it was that he had escaped, and he simply replied, 'She of the white mantle covered me with it;' and all understood that our Lady had been there to save him.

When the wonderful escape of the servant of God became known in the city, and in the country around, a great many people came to the monastery, begging to be received into the order. Of these the saint accepted nine; two for the house in Cordova, the others he meant to send to Seville. As the two whom he kept in Cordova were the poorest in worldly goods, some of the fathers begged him to change them for others who could be of service to their house, seeing

that the community in Seville was not so poor as they were, they being then in great distress. The man of God was not moved by their reasoning; but he told them that he had deliberately chosen the poorest novices for the purpose of founding the house more securely, and keeping out of it all human considerations whatsoever.

Thus the two poorest novices were kept in Cordova, and the other seven were to be sent away. The vicar ordered fra Martin of the Assumption, his fellow, with a lay brother, to take them to Seville, giving him nothing but a sorry mule to carry their clothes. Fra Martin, though not unused to the ways of the saint, was now not a little alarmed, for he was going without money on his journey; so he begged the vicar provincial to let him ask the prior for some provision for the road. He was afraid, he said, that the novices might faint by the way, for they had never been tried in the world as they would be tried now in religion. The saint smiled, and said, 'Go, my son; our Lord has made everything ready; you will want nothing, and none of the novices will faint by the way; they will reach Seville sound and fervent.'

Fra Martin was a true religious; he obeyed at once, and set out with the seven novices, without a penny to defray their expenses on the road. In every place through which he passed he found nothing but kindness; people even pressed alms upon him; and thus helped,

he arrived in Seville without any inconvenience but heartily ashamed of himself for his want of faith. The novices too were in perfect health of mind and body. On his return he presented himself before the vicar, to give an account of his journey, and, what was harder to do, to bring forth the alms he had received, but could not spend because they exceeded his necessities. He had left Cordova in doubt, without a penny; and he had now, to his own shame and confusion of face, more than seven pounds in his purse. The saint told him to give the money to the procurator, adding, 'I would rather you had come back a greater saint, and that you had suffered want and wrong for the love of God, Who provided for you so well.'

Summoned by the provincial to Madrid, with the other vicars, where they were to meet August 13 1586, he set out on his journey. In Toledo, he fell ill, and was therefore unable to attend. Fra Jerome of the Mother of God, the vicar of Portugal, was also absent; but as their places were filled by the priors of Madrid and Pastrana, the provincial was able to transact the business on account of which they had been summoned. It was said at the time, but without truth, that the illness in Toledo was more or less feigned, because St. John of the Cross did not wish to be present in an assembly wherein the conduct of the late provincial was to be discussed. It is quite true that the servant of God had a great affection for fra

Jerome, but he was not blinded by his love, and moreover he never shrank from duty, however painful. When he had recovered his strength he quitted Toledo, and travelled homeward to Granada. On the road to Cuerva, from Toledo, he turned aside to rest himself in a wood; he went into it a good way, that he might be less disturbed, leaving his fellow behind. After some time the friar went in quest of the servant of God, and searching for him amid the trees, he saw him lost in prayer, and raised in the air high from the ground.

Soon after his return to Granada he received orders from his superior, fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, the provincial, who had obtained the consent of the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal de Quiroga, not without difficulty, to found another monastery of Carmel in Madrid, to bring Anne of Jesus, the prioress of Granada, to that city, where she was to be prioress of the monastery about to be founded there. In obedience to the order of the provincial, he brought the venerable Anne, with her companions, to Madrid.

They set out from Granada in the latter part of the month of August, on a long and toilsome journey. The river Guadiana was swollen, and in crossing the ford the carriage in which the nuns sat was nearly overturned. The servant of God, with the ass he rode, was borne across on the surface of the torrent, and on the other side of the river the nuns were

amazed when they saw him and the poor ass perfectly dry, for the waters had not touched them.

When they had nearly ended their long travels, and had come within two leagues of Madrid, they heard that a great number of distinguished persons were coming forth to meet them. St. John of the Cross wished to enter the city unperceived and without noise, so he and Anne of Jesus agreed to stop on the road, and thereby avoid so public a reception. They waited till the evening, but the roads were bad, and night overtook them long before they came to the gates of Madrid. They were thus unexpectedly benighted and did not know how to advance, when they suddenly found themselves in the midst of a brilliant light, more brilliant than the light of the sun, which accompanied them till they came to the city, between nine and ten o'clock, September 9 1586.

The provincial was there to receive them, and from him the servant of God obtained leave to found a monastery in Mancha Real. Then, having done all he had to do in Madrid, he made haste to reach Mancha Real, and took possession of the house, October 12, when High Mass was sung by the arch-deacon of Ubeda, who gave the house; the deacon was one of his nephews, a canon of Toledo, and the sub-deacon was the vicar of the provincial, St. John of the Cross.

During one of the many journeys he made about

this time to Mancha Real, he was accompanied by fra Martin of the Assumption and fra Pedro of St. Mary, a lay brother. The latter fell in going down the road from Porcuna towards the river, and broke his leg. He was somewhat in advance of the two fathers, and when the saint and fra Martin came up to him they found him in sharp pain, for the shin-bone was broken in two. Fra Martin held the leg, and St. John of the Cross, wetting a piece of cloth with his mouth, bound the limb; and then having put the poor brother on a mule, they led it, one on each side, supporting fra Pedro as well as they could till they came to an inn. There the saint had promised to find some relief for him, and having stopped, said they would help him to dismount, that he might not be put to further pain.

'Pain,' cried fra Pedro, 'I feel none;' and, leaping to the ground, danced before the vicar of the province, in the fulness of his joy.

Fra Martin, seeing that the broken limb was not only set but healed, cried out, 'A miracle, a manifest miracle!'

'Hush,' said the saint; 'what do these people here know about miracles?'

He then charged the two friars, under pain of disobedience, to hold their tongues, and keep secret all they had seen.

During his stay in Mancha Real, two women

possessed of the devil were brought to him. One was married; he would not exorcise her, and said to those who had brought her to him that it was not necessary to do so; her deliverance was near at hand. They, believing him, went their way, and not long after saw the prophecy of the servant of God plainly fulfilled. The other was unmarried, and he said that the priests who had begun the exorcisms would work her cure. But they who had brought her to his presence were importunate with him, praying him not to leave the poor woman in the power of satan; he still refused, and all they could obtain from him was the humble confession that 'God would not have him interfere.' The friars, knowing well that he said so for good reasons, urged the continuance of the exorcisms by the priests who had begun them, and in the course of the following year the poor woman was delivered out of the hands of the enemy.

Fra Jerome of the Mother of God had, in 1585, accepted a monastery in Guadalcaçar, of which the friars took possession March 24th of that year.* But for some reason or other, the deeds concerning the foundation had not yet been formally settled. The vicar of the province now, by order of the provincial, went thither to secure the deeds. The founders received him with great joy, and all the difficulties feared by the friars were overcome without any

* *Reforma de los Descalgos*, ii. p. 142, lib. ii. c. 43.

trouble. While there the servant of God was attacked by a most severe pain in his side, and the physician who came to his relief said that he could not recover. The saint hearing this, said to fra Martin, who was with him: 'The hour of death is not come for me; I shall, however, have much to suffer in this illness, for the stone is not yet sufficiently polished.'

The physician ordered a certain ointment to be prepared, and fra Martin brought it to the saint so quickly that he had not had time to prepare himself for it, by removing and hiding the instruments of penance which he continually wore. Fra Martin began to apply it to his side, and then discovered an iron chain round the body of the saint, but he could see only parts of it, for the flesh covered the rest. He took it away, and in removing it he tore the flesh, and the blood flowed abundantly from the wounds. The saint suffered sharp pain during the sharp operation of the father, but it was nothing in comparison with the pain and the shame he felt at the discovery of his penance. He then confessed to his faithful companion that he had worn it for the last seven years night and day; and every link in the chain had two sharp points, which tore the flesh at every movement of his body.

Fra Martin kept the chain as a precious relic, and after the death of the saint God wrought miracles by it.

About this time also he was travelling with fra Pedro of the Mother of God, when his further course was stopped by the overflowing of a river, whereby the ford had become dangerous. Many people were there before him, waiting for the lessening of the waters, and he himself proposed to wait with them. But he heard an inward voice calling him away. He bade the brother stay where he was; he would cross notwithstanding the rush of the waters. In midstream the feet of the mule became entangled in some brushwood carried away by the torrent, and both he and the mule sank beneath the waters. The people, who had begged him to wait, now cried aloud for help, but no human help was possible. He, however, had recourse to his unfailing protectress, and the people amazed saw him rise, and, in spite of the current, make his way to the opposite bank. The mule too escaped, and the saint, having mounted it, hurried on to an inn on the road leading from Vaena to Jaën.

In the inn was a man dying of wounds given him in a brawl by the son of the innkeeper. The saint went to him at once, and heard his confession. The poor man was a religious who had gone astray, who had cast behind his back the obligations of his rule, and was now an apostate from his profession. The holy man urged him to forgive his murderer, and even to regard him as one who had done him a great

service. He remained with him for two hours, and helped him to die the death of a good Christian.

Towards the end of November, or the beginning of December of this year, 1586, he went to Bujalance, to make arrangements for the foundation of a monastery there. On the road he said to fra Martin, 'What would your reverence do if we were now travelling amidst infidels, and they were to set upon us and beat us?'

'Bear it patiently, I hope, by the grace of God,' was the answer of fra Martin.

'Bear it patiently,' replied the saint, with a holy indignation; 'is that your way? Why not desire it, and even to be cut in pieces, for the love of Christ?'

In Bujalance he received an order from the provincial to come to Madrid. It was late at night, but the saint made his preparations at once for setting out early the next morning, though the season was cold and rain was falling after heavy snow. His fellow and the innkeeper laboured to persuade him to delay his journey till the weather grew better. He would not listen to their entreaties, saying that 'he could ill expect his religious to obey him if he was disobedient himself.' Before dawn the next morning he was on his way to Madrid.

Before he left Bujalance he commissioned fra Diego of the Conception to make the foundation in Caravaca, concerning which the mother Anne of St.

Albert had spoken to him in the beginning of this year, and fra Diego took possession of the house December 18th 1586.

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1587—1588.

Miraculous light—The chapter of Valladolid—Election of the saint to be prior of Granada—Picture of the saint—Foretells the canonisation of St. Teresa—Fra Jerome of the Mother of God—Division of the province—The saint elected prior of Segovia—Don Juan de Orosco—Letters of St. Teresa burnt.

THE servant of God remained in Madrid till the beginning of March 1587, when he went to Caravaca. There he had to preside at the election of a prioress in the room of mother Anne of St. Albert. On the morning of the day of the election he said Mass in the church of the monastery, and while he was saying it the nuns saw a wonderful light around the saint. Two of them—the nearest to the grating—thought the light came from the tabernacle, and one of these two, doubting the reality of the vision, went to another grating nearer the altar, and there saw the same sight. Now, this nun could not make up her mind for whom she should vote in the chapter about to be held, and was in great perplexity and distress of mind; but as she was looking on and marvelling at the heavenly light, she heard an inward voice bidding

her do what the vicar provincial should suggest to her. After Mass she went to him, and told him how much she was troubled about the election; he listened to her, and then told her what she was to do. All her scruples and anxieties vanished in a moment, and she was conscious of a great interior peace.

When the nuns were assembled in chapter for the election, the servant of God came in and preached to them for some time. They saw again the wondrous light which they had seen during Mass; the whole choir was flooded with it, and the nuns were filled with a wonderful joy. Then the election was made; made too in great peace; and then, when all was over, the servant of God said to them, 'Children, God reward you, and I thank you, for you have done according to His will.'

A few days afterwards one of the nuns, Barbara of the Holy Ghost, suffered much from inward unrest, but she kept her secret and never spoke to any one of her trouble. The man of God sent for her, and said, 'Child, why do you hide your sorrows? But as you are silent yourself, I will tell them.' He told her all her troubles, to her amazement; and then, when he had ended, bade her be of good courage; all would end well, and her soul would be in peace; and the prophecy was fulfilled to the letter.

From Caravaca he went to Valladolid, summoned thither by the provincial. There the definitors, of

whom he was one, met on the 7th of April, and transacted certain business, by way of preparation for the assembling of the provincial chapter, which was held on Friday the 17th. The next day the definitors were elected, and a few days later the vicars provincial. Certain abuses which had crept in were corrected, and decrees were made in virtue of which schools were to be founded within the order; so that henceforth the novices might be taught at home, and be no longer sent, as they had hitherto been, to the universities for their instruction in human and divine learning.

When St. John of the Cross was released, as he now was, from his duties as vicar of Andalucia, he hoped that he might be allowed to live under obedience and undistinguished among his brethren. It is not to be so yet; and he was elected prior of Granada. When he saw that the choice of the chapter had fallen upon him, he fell on his knees before the assembled fathers, and begged his brethren to have pity on him, and suffer him to attend to his own soul, without the charge of the souls of others. He wept in the soreness of his distress; but the tears of the wearied saint did not move his brethren. He was compelled to accept the priorate; and so with a heavy heart went back to Granada, but to the great joy of the friars and of the nuns who were there.

Relieved from the burden of making the visitation of the province he gave himself up solely to his work

in the monastery, in which he was now prior for the third time. He finished the building of the house, supplied it with water, planted a vineyard, and made it a pattern for all the houses of the order; in the whole of Spain there was not another to surpass it in its fitness and convenience. He himself laboured with his own hands, mixed the mortar and laid the bricks, choosing for himself, when it could be done, that which workmen regard as the least honourable part of their labours. He sent to Medina for his brother, Francis de Yepes, employed him as a labourer; and whenever any of the great personages of Granada came to the monastery to visit the prior, the prior never failed to show them his brother at his work, or if that could not be done, he would find some excuse for bringing him into the room, where he would speak of him as the person the most dear to him upon earth.

Some people at this time, wishing to have a picture of the saint, begged the friars to help them to obtain their desired end. The friars knew too well that he would never consent to their wishes, so they resolved to take his picture by stealth. That was easy enough; they brought the painter to his cell when he was in a trance, and in that way the work was done. Some time afterwards the saint found out what had been done, and was greatly hurt and grieved; with the friars he was even angry. In the processes of his

canonisation it was deposed that he had been three times disturbed. This was one of them; another was when the conversation fell upon what he and fra Antonio had done for the order in Duruelo; and the third time was in his last illness when the surgeon had punctured his foot to obtain some relief for him, one of the punctures being in that part of the foot which was pierced by the nail of the Crucifixion, the friar who waited upon him said in a jest, but more probably in real earnest, that our Lord had admitted him to share in His sufferings, of which the wound in the foot was an outward sign. The holy man, whose humility never slumbered, became angry; for he thought the friar was comparing him with St. Francis.*

If the servant of God, in his humility, tried to hide the sanctity of his life from the eyes of men, God Himself would make it manifest from time to time. One day a great personage in Granada, who did not know the saint, but who had heard much of him, resolved to put the popular rumour to the test. He went to the saint and laid before him the state of his own soul. He then learnt so much in that conversation and saw so much in the servant of God, that he was afterwards wont to say, 'O, what treasures God has laid up in that man! I had heard much of him, but what I had heard is as nothing to what I know.'

The nuns, too, in the monasteries which he visited,

* Joseph de Jesus Maria, *Hist. de la Vida*, p. 372.

gathered the fragments of his food, and treasured them as something divinely touched; his very habit was fragrant. One of the friars persuaded him to give up his habit, now worn threadbare, and put on another which was new. The prior consented, and the friar, out of devotion, put on the discarded habit himself, but it brought down upon him the censures of his brethren. They said he carried perfumes about his person—a thing unseemly in a religious; he however defended himself as well as he could, and continued to wear the habit. At last the friars ascertained the cause of the strange fragrance, and then found that whatever touched the macerated flesh of the saintly prior gave forth a delicious smell.

He foretold the canonisation of St. Teresa at this time, and before any steps had been taken in the order or elsewhere for that end. It happened in this way.

In March 1588, during recreation in the monastery of Granada, fra Juan of the Holy Angels said he had dreamt the night before that they were keeping the feast of their holy mother, and that they had sung the divine office in her honour. He was laughing at himself and his dream, but the prior spoke seriously to him, and begged him not to make that a matterfor mirth: he would see his dream fulfilled before he died. Fra Juan was no longer a young man, and gave little heed to the words of the prior; but he lived to be an

older man, and saw not the beatification only, but the canonisation also of St. Teresa, in the year 1622.*

* Fra Joseph de Jesus Maria, p. 639.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1588.

The first general chapter of the reform—St. John of the Cross prior of Segovia—Fra Nicolas—The discontented friar—The disobedient preacher—Francis de Urena—Death of Catherine Alvarez—Austerities and prayer of the saint—The mysterious dove.

In June 1588 St. John of the Cross, obeying the summons of the provincial, was present at the chapter held in Madrid. A great change was now made in the government of the order; his Holiness Sixtus V., having received many petitions from Spain, had sanctioned a further separation of the friars of the reform from the friars of the mitigated observance. The brief of the Pope, dated July 10, 1587, was brought to Spain the same year, and notice of it was given to the provincial by the Nuncio. The provincial then called the definitors together, November 25, 1587, and laid before them a copy of the brief, which was in the hand of the Nuncio. They all agreed that a chapter of the province should be held for the formal acceptance and publication of it, and accordingly the chapter was summoned to meet in Madrid, June 19, 1588.

In that assembly of the definitors in Madrid, fra

Jerome of the Mother of God, the first provincial of the order, and the friend of St. Teresa, was deprived of all authority. He was declared unmeet to give his voice in chapter or to be elected to any office. He had broken in upon the established discipline by publishing a pamphlet without the leave of his superiors, and his offence was the greater because he had discussed in it the state of the order. All those who knew how much he was disliked by the provincial, fra Nicolas, were not surprised at the punishment, however much they may have lamented the offence which caused it. Henceforward fra Jerome was a stranger among his brethren, and those who loved him, and would have saved him if they could, never found a single opportunity wherein they could defend him. In the chapter held in Valladolid, in April, he had been elected vicar provincial of Mexico; and now, in November, he was deprived of all authority in the order.

The chapter summoned in November now assembled in Madrid, in June of this year, 1588, and, after the reading of the Papal brief, proceeded to put it in execution. Having elected the four definitors, of whom St. John of the Cross was the first, it then proceeded to the election of the vicar-general; for as the friars were now made into a congregation, and the province was to be divided, the superior was to be no longer a provincial, but the vicar of the general, having vicars

provincial under him. There was some little murmuring on the part of five or six of the fathers who were friends of fra Jerome, but the rest prevailed, and fra Nicolas, the late provincial, was elected vicar-general, invested with the very authority and power over the friars of the reform which the prior-general himself had over the whole order; but of the fifty-eight fathers who had the right to vote in the election, there were twenty-six who did not give their voices in favour of fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, Doria.*

The vicar-general being elected, the friars then divided the province, no longer a province but a congregation, into six provinces, and placed a prior provincial over each; then came the discussion of the matter which had caused so much division and heart-burnings. Fra Nicolas had obtained from the Pope the appointment of consultors, one from each province, who were to aid him in the government of the order, and to decide the questions that came before them, without appeal.

There were to be six consultors, and of these the first chosen was St. John of the Cross; he was also elected prior of the house in Segovia, founded by his penitent, doña Ana de Peñalosa; and as it was judged inexpedient that the consultors should sit in Madrid, lest the court should interfere with them and influence their resolutions, Segovia was chosen to be the seat of

* *Reforma*, ii. 426, lib. viii. § 7.

the council, and St. John of the Cross was to be the president of it, in the absence of the vicar-general.

He went to Segovia in the beginning of August, and entered on his work by rebuilding the monastery in a more healthy spot. He himself, one of the chiefs of the order and the prior of the house, was to be seen daily among the workmen, working with them. His own cell was the poorest in the monastery—a small closet under the staircase, dimly lighted, in which a place could with difficulty be found for his bed, but none for a table to write on. He had no books at any time in his cell but the Breviary and the Scriptures. All the time not occupied in the business of the house he spent in the hollow of a rock which was in the garden, where he could neither sit nor stand. Thus he gave his body no rest, though he seemed in the eyes of the world to be always at rest; for he never appeared in it.

In the beginning of the winter the vicar-general of the order was in Segovia, about to make his visitation. The weather was cold, so he furnished himself and his fellow, to defend themselves against rain and snow, with two large oil-capes. The austere and unbending Doria, fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, the strict observer of holy poverty, and the restorer of discipline fallen low under his predecessor, had found fault with fra Jerome on account of the trappings of his mule; and now even he, in his turn, had become lax and self-

indulgent, and must be admonished. He found a less rigid censor than he had been himself, for he fell into the hands of the prior of Segovia. St. John of the Cross was not silent, and told him that, in a person of his rank and authority, the oil-capes might be an occasion of laxity in the order, and a scandal to the weaker brethren. Fra Nicolas was, though stubborn and hard, a man of real humility, and at once acknowledged his mistake; he left the oil-capes behind, and braved the rigours of the winter in the ordinary dress of the barefooted Carmelites.

The servant of God spent all the time he could spare from the duties of the house in the narrow cave in the garden, but he never could remain long there; the interruptions were so many and so continuous, for people came to the monastery to see the prior. He never at any time refused to see them; but he would complain gently to the father who called him of these hindrances to prayer, and went with reluctance to converse with men who came to break up his converse with God.

Though thus continually giving himself up to prayer, he neglected nothing; and, as if to reward him and to supply the seeming want of watchfulness, God revealed to him the secrets of men's hearts, that his government of them might be to His glory. One day he met two of his friars talking together, and said to them, 'Why think ye evil in your hearts?' They

defended themselves, for their conscience smote them; but he reproved them sharply, and told them they had been rashly judging one of their brethren; which wa true. Another friar, deluded by satan into the belie that he was called to a higher life, resolved on leaving the monastery, and persuaded fra Barnabas of Jesus to go with him to the Carthusians, where they could lead that perfect life to which he was called. The servant of God sent for fra Barnabas, and, having told him all that had passed between him and the other friar, warned him against the conversation of his brother, for he was under grievous delusions, and would make shipwreck of his holy profession. Fra Barnabas accepted the warning of the servant of God, and shunned the conversation of the brother, who tried to persuade him to leave the order; but the other friar came to a miserable end.

Another friar tempted by satan, was about to leave the monastery one night when all in the house were asleep. He had made all his preparations, and had even laid a ladder against the outer wall of the enclosure. The saint, who had not gone to sleep, but who was awake in prayer, knowing by revelation from God all that the friar was doing, and intending to do, went to the cell of one of the fathers, begged him to go down into the garden and remove the ladder, but without speaking a word to any one, not even if he found another friar near the ladder.

The father went down to the garden, and when he got to the place, the poor friar was there before him with one foot on the ladder, bent on going forth into the world he had left. But when he saw the father lay his hand on the ladder as if about to remove it, and at the same time seeming not to recognise his presence, he knew in a moment what had taken place; he felt that the father was there by order of the prior, and that God had made his sin known to him. He entered into himself, and, bitterly repenting of his evil imaginations, led a life of great penance afterwards, and persevered in the order till his death.

He was very patient with men. There was a grand Mass with a sermon in the church of the monastery in Easter week 1589, and benefactors of the house had been invited, with the foundress, doña Ana de Peñalosa, and her brother. During the Mass the saint was told that the friar whom he had appointed to preach was unwell, and could not appear. The saint asked if he was in bed, and learning that he was not, and also knowing the cause of the disobedience, sent him word that he ought to consider well the disappointment of so many people and the inconvenience it would be to the community. The friar was unmoved: having taken offence at some trifle or other, he was now, like a child, resenting it. The servant of God, showing no sign of disturbance,

sent word to the priest at the altar to continue the Mass without interruption to the end. He said nothing to the friar who had been so perverse, but gave orders that as he was unwell no person should be allowed to see him from without. He then betook himself to prayer on his behalf, and begged he might have grace to see the evil he had done and the inevitable issues of the road on which he had begun to run. At the end of a fortnight the friar, still sullen, and unable to see one of his friends whom he greatly cherished, began to feel the inconvenience of his imposed illness. He now entered into himself, and saw what folly he had committed, and into what danger he had wilfully run. The servant of God, knowing the state he was in, and knowing too that the time was come when the mortified spirit could be really humbled, rebuked him with grave severity in chapter before all his brethren, and laid a sharp penance upon him to make him remember his offence. The friar submitted with tears of joy, for he knew that he deserved a far more severe treatment, and was never afterwards wearied of speaking of the tenderness and pity which the prior had shown him when he least deserved it.*

Strict with himself, he was always thoughtful about others. Francisco de Ureña was the barber of the monastery; not, however, for money, for the friars

* Fra Joseph de Jesus Maria, lib. i. c. 48, p. 384.

had little or nothing to give him, but for the love of God. One day, while on his way to the monastery, he remembered that he wanted some article of dress, for the old one was worn out. He said nothing, however, to any one, but as he was about to leave the house, the procurator met him and gave him what he wanted. It was quite new, and the poor barber declined such a gift. The procurator then told him he must accept it, for it had been sent by the prior. Francisco submitted when he heard that, and went home marvelling within himself, for he knew that God had made his thoughts and necessities known to His servant.

One day the saint was hearing the confession of a nun in their monastery in Segovia, and when she had finished, asked her if she had anything more to say:

'Nothing, father,' was the answer of the nun.

'Be careful, my child,' replied the saint; 'I know you have.'

'Certainly, I remember nothing more,' persisted the nun.

Then the saint reminded her of certain things, which the sister instantly confessed; amazed at the knowledge granted to the saint, but full of thanksgiving, as she afterwards said, for the great mercy of God in thus bringing to her remembrance what she had, but should not have, forgotten.

A lady came to his confessional, and when she had finished, was told by the saint to confess also some sin of which she had said nothing, and which, unhappily, she had been silent about in former confessions. She humbled herself at once without the least hesitation or explanation, and, confessing all, went home with a tranquil conscience.

A man went from curiosity to see the monastery, and at the door met the saint, whose looks so touched him that he asked him to hear his confession. He had not thought of confessing when he left his house, and his sins were many. The servant of God led him into the church, and not only heard his confession with the most compassionate gentleness, but also, to his great wonder, helped him to make it, reminding him of his sins, and speaking of them as if he had been himself present when the poor man fell into them.

Don Juan de Orosco y Covarruvias de Leyva, the canon of Segovia, who befriended St. Teresa* when the vicar general of his uncle, the bishop, was so troublesome to her when she founded the monastery in that city, went to the saint for advice, when he had been told that he was about to be made a bishop. The saint said to him that it would be better for him to remain where he was, because the bishopric would bring him nothing but sore trouble and con-

* See chap. v. p. 86.

fusion. Some time afterwards, in 1595, still tormented by ambition of dignities, and heedless of the warnings of the saint, the canon accepted the bishopric of Girgenti, in Sicily, though not without fear, and learned by bitter experience how prophetic were the saint's words.

He established a printing press in his episcopal city, and published books in which he reflected unfavourably on some of his subjects, and even on his canons. Some of the canons, with a great nobleman, complained to the Pope, who ordered the archbishop of Palermo to send his vicar to Girgenti to burn the bishop's books publicly in the cathedral in the presence of the people. The bishop was summoned to Rome to give an account of his conduct. There the other charges brought against him by his subjects were discussed at great length and for a long time, and in the end the bishop was acquitted. He was unwilling to return to his see after these troubles, and with the assent of the Pope, Clement VIII., King Philip also acquiescing, he went back to Spain, and in 1606 was made bishop of Guadix, which he governed till his death, 1610.*

At this time the mother of the saint died in Medina del Campo, poor but not forgotten, because St. Teresa had charged her nuns there to see that the mother of her firstborn son in Carmel should be provided with all

* *Pirri, Sicil. Sacr.* ii. p. 764.

that was needful for her support. The nuns fulfilled with the utmost faithfulness the charge laid upon them by St. Teresa, and when Catherine Alvarez died, she was buried with the religious of the house; and the monastery regarded the possession of her body as the possession of a great treasure, so saintly was the life and death of the mother of the servant of God.* It does not appear that St. John of the Cross ever saw his mother since he said his first Mass when he had become a barefooted friar. When he heard of her death, he sent for his brother to Segovia; the two brothers loved one another with a love passing the love of brothers, for each helped the other to love God more and more, and poverty itself above all earthly goods. Francis came; and when the two brothers were speaking together they both fell into a trance, and saw their mother in a vision, and heard her speak of the glory to which God had raised her.†

The servant of God had borne the heat of the day in his order, constantly employed in governing others, and was now longing more earnestly than ever for a little rest; but there was to be none for him, even when relieved from the burden of office. He spent so little time in sleep, and treated his body with such extreme

* The mother of St. John of the Cross lies buried in the cloister. Her name in religion was Maria de la Encarnacion.—*A Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. Teresa de Jesus*, p. 8, by the very Rev. Canon Dalton, 1873.

† *Velaseo, Vida de Francisco de Yepes*, p. 37, *Valladolid*, 1616.

severity, that his brethren feared for his life. Every night, before Matins and after, he would retire into the most lonely part of the house, that he might take the discipline unknown to others. But through the silence of the night the sound of the lash would reach the ears of the friars, who trembled when they heard it, for they knew how merciless he was to himself. They could not venture to interrupt him openly, for he was their superior; so they had recourse from time to time to a little art, and would carry a light into the neighbourhood, and let the father be seen. This they did so often that he at last complained of it to his old friend and companion, fra Martin of the Assumption. 'I am not a child,' he said, 'that cannot take care of itself; why do you persecute me in this way?'

The fathers continued their affectionate persecution, and one of them from Andalucia wrote to him a long and touching letter, begging him to be more merciful to his body, for the sake of others and the prosperity of the order. But he wrote in answer that which he had said before to fra John of St. Anne in Baeza.*

The servant of God was wasting away in the furnace of divine love; he had done with the world and all that is in it, and sought nothing but the cross; he was now in the habit of recommending to certain of his penitents who had climbed the heights of Carmel under his direction to abstain, unless they were

* Marco de San Francisco, p. 214; see ch. x. p. 150.

priest, from communion on Fridays, that, in their hunger and thirst after the heavenly food, they might enter the more fully into the bitterness of that abandonment which our Most Blessed Lord underwent Himself in His Holy Passion on the Cross.

When the saint was living in Granada, a dove of wonderful beauty and brilliant plumage, with a golden circlet around the throat, was seen over his cell, and now in Segovia people beheld it again. It was always silent, never cooing, a solitary bird, never mingling with its kind, and generally near the cell of the saint or over it. The dove was visible not to the friars only, but also to seculars. It was a subject of conversation among the friars, and it was ascertained that the mysterious dove followed the saint, and remained with him wherever he might be. It disappeared from Segovia, as it had done from Granada, when the saint went away, but was seen again in Andalucia, whither he retired on the resignation of his priorate. So continual was his prayer now, that he had to do violence to himself when people came to speak to him of their own affairs, and he was weary of all that he had to do, except his duties in the community, wherein he never failed. One night, when the religious were all in their cells, he went down to the church, and prayed before a picture of our Lord carrying His cross, the very sight of which always moved the saint to great devotion. During his prayer,

a voice spoke to him, as if coming from the picture, saying, 'John, what shall I give thee for all thou hast done and suffered for Me?' The Holy man was startled; but as he was not only humble, but also wary in the matter of revelations and visions, he looked around to see if anybody were in the church who could have uttered the words, for he, like St. Teresa, was always afraid of delusions.

He saw no one, and indeed he was the only one there; but not trusting his ears, he returned to his prayer, making no answer. The words were again uttered, and the saint, still distrustful, continued in prayer. He heard the same words uttered the third time, and then he made the wondrous answer, 'To suffer and to be held in contempt for Thy sake.' It was what he always longed for, and was the only wish of his heart on earth, and was now about to be granted him.

He thirsted for suffering as 'the hart longs for the fountains where the waters rise,' and was in the habit of saying, 'he knows nothing who knows not how to suffer for the love of God.' His earnest and continuous prayer was to obtain three graces: the first was, to be relieved of every office in the order, and to be a subject under a superior who would not be gentle with him, before he died. The second was, that he might suffer for the love of God, and the

third was, to die in humiliation and unknown. The fervent prayer of the just man was not unheard.

He had many letters of St. Teresa in his possession, written to him from time to time, and he would also from time to time read them for the spiritual consolation and joy which he always received from them. But at last, finding that such reading was sweet, and fearing that he was seeking consolations out of God, the saint of detachment burnt the letters,* to his own great gain we cannot doubt, but to the great and irreparable loss of all succeeding generations.

* Note of fra Antonio to Lett. 40, vol. ii. of the *Letters of St. Teresa*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1591.

Discontent of the nuns—Resolution of the friars—Fra Luis de Leon—Royal interference—St. John of the Cross neglected by his brethren—Retires to Peñuela—Miracles.

THE new way of governing the order, on which fra Nicolas the vicar had entered, led at once to great discontent, not only among the nuns but also among the friars. The former believed themselves to have been seriously wronged, and were not silent. They complained especially of the council,* before which every trifling fault of theirs was brought. They had nothing to say against the members of it separately, whom they respected, but they could not bear that their shortcomings should be brought to the knowledge of seven friars instead of one. They thought that was a yoke which ought not to have been laid upon their necks.

It was a heavy load laid upon the nuns, and upon the friars also: and it must be admitted that the act of Doria was a revolution. The government of the orders is monarchic, and he made the order of Carmel a republic, governed by an aristocracy like his own native city of Genoa. Many grave men of other

* See ch. xvii. p. 228 above.

orders approved of the change, which encouraged the innovating friar, but it was very easy for these grave and learned men to approve for others that of which they had no experience themselves, and which they would probably have resisted with all their might if they had been made the victim.

In their distress the nuns went out of the order for help, expecting probably to find none among the friars. Foremost among the discontented was the venerable Anne of Jesus, now prioress of Madrid. In her judgment the nuns should be under the government of one superior, not under that of many. To obtain her end, and also stop further disputings, she proposed that the chapter-general of the order should elect a visitor of the nuns, who should be the deputy of the vicar; it being assumed that the vicar himself could not in person visit all the monasteries. But before making her complaint and desires known to the Pope, she consulted two friends of St. Teresa, and great friends of the order also, don Teutonio, archbishop of Evora, and the great Dominican doctor, Dominic Bañes. Beside these, she consulted also the Augustinian, fra Luis de Leon, who, at her request and with her help, had published the writings of St. Teresa, the foundress of the reform.

These grave and learned men were asked two questions. First, 'Is it lawful for the nuns to make known in Rome the troubles they are in?' and

secondly, 'Is it expedient?' They answered without hesitation that it is lawful; for every subject may appeal to his superior always, and under all circumstances; and expedient, because the troubles and trials of the nuns would be thereby ended.

The venerable Anne, now that her conscience was safe, sent to Rome a grave and skilful priest, Dr. Marmol, a relative of fra Jerome of the Mother of God. The agent of the nuns did his work so well that he obtained all that mother Anne desired, and the Pontiff issued the brief in their favour on the 5th June 1590, confirming the constitutions of the nuns, and forbidding the friars to make any changes in them. Fra Nicolas, the vicar of the order, having discovered what mother Anne had done, summoned the provincials to Madrid, for the matter was very grave. He considered the act of Anne of Jesus as an act of rebellion, and was bent on chastising her. The assembly was held on the eve of Pentecost, June 9th, and St. John of the Cross was elected first definitor and consultor.

Fra Nicolas had called his brethren together to determine what the order should do when the nuns presented their brief—for he did not doubt that a brief would be obtained—and to explain certain difficulties which had arisen because the powers of the council had not been accurately defined. He had also determined to obtain their consent to the recall of fra

Jerome from Portugal, of whom his brethren sent many complaints to Spain. The chapter resolved, that when the brief came the order would cease to have anything to do with the nuns, and would resign the direction of them. It was a harsh decision: for if the nuns had done amiss, the friars of St. Teresa might have been more patient with their elder sisters.

The brief was brought to Spain about the latter end of August, shortly before the death of the Pope, Sixtus V., and the execution of it was committed to don Teutonio, archbishop of Evora, and fra Luis de Leon, one of the professors of Salamanca and an Augustinian friar. The former declined to act under the commission, and the whole matter therefore remained in the hands of fra Luis, who determined to execute the brief at once. Fra Nicolas, the vicar, having received his orders, obeyed, and summoned the provincials to receive the brief. But fra Nicolas intended to resist to the uttermost, and went to the king with his grievance, complaining of the nuns and of fra Luis de Leon, who was doing nothing but his duty. Fra Luis submitted without hesitation to the orders of the Nuncio, and don Philip spoke to the Nuncio, who for the sake of peace, and to give time for the cooling of men's tempers, commanded fra Luis to wait till he received further instructions. The execution of the brief was delayed; the provincials also who had come together at the summons of fra

Nicolas, the vicar, returned home without formally assembling in chapter.

Fra Luis waited for some time, but no instructions were sent to him, so he determined to execute the brief of the Pope; he issued his orders once more to fra Nicolas, and the provincials were summoned as before. The vicar would not yield, and went again to the king for help against his own superiors in the lawful exercise of their jurisdiction, and begged him to use the civil power in a purely ecclesiastical matter. The chapter having met, according to the summons of the vicar, fra Luis entered to present the brief; but before he could do so, one of the king's chamberlains came in, and charged the fathers assembled, in the king's name, to do nothing till he, the king, heard from the Pope, to whom he had sent an account of the whole dispute.

It is true that some respect was shown to the authority of the Pope, and that the king wished to be thought even in this an obedient son of the Roman Church; but in substance it was otherwise, and fra Luis de Leon on quitting the chapter said aloud, that matters had come to such a pass that no orders of his Holiness could be executed in Spain. There was too much truth in the words to be otherwise than displeasing to the king; for soon after this, when the Augustinians of Castille were about to elect fra Luis as their provincial, the king sent a message to the

chapter forbidding the election, and the friars did not think themselves strong enough to disobey so unjust and unreasonable an order.

Fra Nicolas now brought the brief before the council of six, and the members of that council were unable to oppose him. St. John of the Cross was suspected by his brethren of being in league with the venerable Anne of Jesus, and no one, therefore, would listen to him. Fra Nicolas prevailed in the debate; the friars gave way before his resolute will, and resolved that the order should cease to have any relations with the nuns; the direction of whom they resigned into the hands of the Pope. This resolution amazed all people, and the nuns were alarmed beyond measure; the injustice of it was plain, for all the nuns had never asked for the brief—it was Anne of Jesus alone who had obtained it—nor perhaps wished to be released from the authority of the council, yet they were all abandoned, and in a sense cast out of the order.

Dr. Bañes, the Dominican, who had defended St. Teresa in Avila when the city rose against her, who was her friend all the rest of her life, and a great help to her order everywhere, could not see this unmoved. He went as soon as he could to see fra Nicolas and represented to him the great disproportion between the punishment and the offence. One monastery had done wrong, and all the others, even those who had no share in it, were to be punished.

The iron will of fra Nicolas was not to be broken by the great Dominican; and the latter, on taking leave, said he would do all he could to persuade his own order to receive the nuns now that the Carmelites were sending them away. Fra Nicolas shook hands at parting with him, and courteously said, 'that it would be the best thing that could happen to the nuns and to his own friars, for if the Dominicans accepted them, they would be under the care of an order in every way so honourable.'*

This was reported to the king, who, disliking the interference, asked who sent Bañes to meddle with matters not his own. Perhaps they were matters that belonged to father Bañes as much as they did to don Philip, though he was king of Spain.

Fra Nicolas may at last have relented; but the king certainly did so, for he saw that a great scandal had been wrought; perhaps he was not without some misgiving that he had had too great a share in it himself. He asked the council of the order to resume the government of the nuns, and promised to obtain from his Holiness, Gregory XIV., the cancelling of the brief which had been the occasion of so much strife and contention. The council yielded at the king's request, but there were members of it who yielded ungraciously, not because they disliked the

* *Reforma de los Descalços*, ii. c. 40, § 5, p. 563.

royal interference, but because they were angry with the nuns; among these was fra Augustin of the Kings, who wished to punish the venerable Anne of Jesus and her monastery by driving her and it out of the order. That, however, was not done, for fra Nicolas thought the chastisement too heavy; and so Mother Anne of Jesus continued a Carmelite, but her daring act was never forgotten, and she was ever afterwards more or less suspected by the stern and resolute friends of the strong-willed vicar.

His Holiness, Gregory XIV., to restore peace in Carmel, cancelled the brief of Sixtus V., on the 25th of April 1591; and at Pentecost fra Nicolas held a chapter of the order in Madrid. Peace was then established between him and the nuns; but not between him and fra Jerome of the Mother of God and his friends.

St. John of the Cross had much to suffer at this time, and he seems to have suffered in silence. The venerable Anne of Jesus was a nun whom he highly honoured, and in whom he had great confidence, as she had in him. But as he was not able to help her in the council, where the friends of the vicar were too powerful, he submitted to his superior. He was not disturbed when the troubles began, for he knew by revelation that they would pass quickly away. While he was yet in Segovia, before he was summoned to Madrid, he said so to the prioress

there; who, being in great doubts and fear, unable to sleep because of her distress, sent for the servant of God, and begged light of him in the great straits she was in; for she must either separate herself from her sisters, so she thought, in the other monasteries, or seem to rise in rebellion against her immediate superiors. The saint bade her be of good cheer, the cloud would soon be scattered, and the order would be in peace.

He spoke truly, but it brought no peace for him. The vicar-general himself, and many of the friars, distrusted the saint, suspecting him of having fostered what they regarded as the spirit of rebellion among the nuns. Their suspicions, utterly unjust, were grounded on his friendship with Anne of Jesus, and on her confidence in and great respect for him, on the one hand; and on the other hand, on the fact that fra Luis de Leon, who was in the confidence of the nuns, while attempting to execute the Papal brief, suggested to the friars the election of either fra Jerome of the Mother of God or of St. John of the Cross as visitor of the nuns. This showed, as many of the friars thought, a disposition on the part of the nuns to be on the side of fra Jerome, against the vicar, in whom the friars trusted more than in their former provincial. St. John of the Cross also, though not wholly approving of fra Jerome's administration, had nevertheless always defended him

and so far as he could had stood between him and the ruin which he foresaw.

Thus matters stood in the order when the summons of fra Nicolas reached St. John of the Cross in Segovia, commanding his presence in the chapter, which was to be opened on Whitsun-eve, June 1, of this year, 1591. Before quitting Segovia he went to take leave of the nuns, knowing he should see them no more; and on their saying to him that he would return from the chapter as provincial, he replied pleasantly, but quite gravely, that God would not punish the province so heavily by giving it to him; then he added, that the chapter would make no account of him, and would throw him into a corner out of the way. To others he spoke of the troubles before him, and in such a way as to lead them never to blame the order for anything it might do or suffer to be done to him.

The first sign of the tempest was seen in the elections made in the chapter; nobody gave his voice for the first friar of the reform. He was not elected definitor, nor one of the council; neither was he made a provincial of Mexico. Then, when the elections were over, and the affairs of the order were discussed, St. John of the Cross represented that the decrees and constitutions were too many, and some of them at variance with the others. He also spoke in favour of fra Jerome, and urged upon his brethren the necessity of dealing tenderly with the nuns. The order ought

to remember, he said, that they were the cherished children of St. Teresa, and that great allowances should be made for them in the troubles which had arisen.

This defence of the nuns confirmed the suspicions rife among the friars that the saint was in league with the nuns. So fra Nicolas, to put an end to their expectations, immediately relieved St. John of the Cross of the provincialate of Mexico. If the brief should be put in execution, and the king failed to have it cancelled, it would be then impossible to make St. John of the Cross visitor of the nuns; for the visitor must be a prelate in the order, and the saint was now a simple friar, without rank or authority among his brethren. Thus fra Nicolas was prepared for whatever might happen.

The saint, finding himself at last in the very state for which he had so earnestly longed, free from the cares and honours of office, gave thanks to God, for now his prayers were heard. He was no longer in authority, but a subject for the first time in the order which he had helped to found, and for which he had done so much. The first use he made of his freedom was that he begged the vicar to allow him to live in Peñuela, one of the most austere houses in the order. The vicar gave him leave to do so, but a few days later the friars learned that the brief had been cancelled, and that there could be no further opposition on the part of the nuns. This changed the whole

matter, and there was no reason now for continuing the disgrace of the saint. Fra Nicolas, the vicar, also relented, and was very sorry that he had been carried away by his zeal; and now, seeing that he had been hard and unkind in his treatment of the saint, who was one of the pillars of the order, and who had done so much for it, tried to persuade him to return as prior to Segovia, and forego his purpose of retiring to Peñuela; but he could not prevail. The servant of God had obtained what he had so earnestly prayed for, and he was now going to take possession of his rest; to live unknown and despised, thirsting for the chalice which our Lord had so lovingly promised him.

It cost him some trouble to resist the importunities of his friends, who wished him to return to Segovia, though it is probable that fra Nicolas, the vicar, would not, of his own free will, have pressed him much. On the 6th of July the matter was not settled, for on that day he wrote from Madrid to one of the nuns in Segovia, saying that he feared they would send him back, but that he would do his utmost to escape from all charges in the order.

At last he was free. He went to Segovia from Madrid, but tarried there only a day or two. His friends gathered around him, and begged him to remain there; to all of them he replied, with his wonted tenderness, that it was not possible for him to do so;

he must go to Peñuela. Doña Ana de Mercado y Peñalosa, his friend and penitent, entreated him to remain, or at least promise to return, and he was equally deaf to the prayers of that saintly widow. At last he said to her, 'No, I shall never return, but one day you will bring me back.' The words were afterwards fulfilled, as we shall see later on.

Some time in July of this year, 1591, he reached Peñuela, to the great joy of the friars there, who, with their prior, fra Diego of the Incarnation, once his novice, contrived to become novices again under him. The holy man was consulted by all on all occasions, and the monastery renewed its strength; but as he had come hither to take care of his own soul, and had taken leave of honour and of rank, he took his place as a simple friar in the house, and submitted to its discipline like the rest, asking for no dispensations; he who had been so long in authority among his brethren. He spent his whole time in prayer; in the morning, after Mass, he would ask leave of the prior to go forth into the mountain, where he would remain till he heard the bell of the monastery. He would then return, and after Vespers would go out, again returning for the evening prayer. He was found one day on the mountain by one of his penitents, who said to him, 'Is it possible you can always like to be amid these rocks?'

The saint replied humbly, 'You must not be sur-

prised, for I have less to confess when I am amidst these rocks than when I am among men.'

The prior of Peñuela testified afterwards that the servant of God lived in the house as obedient as a novice, and that his austerities—he seems to have tolerated them against his own judgment, out of reverence for the saint—were so great, that his continuing to live was itself a miracle. His sleep was so brief and his prayer was so constant; for whenever any one went to his cell he was always found on his knees.

One day a violent tempest arose, the sky was darkened, and the thunder roared; the ground was burrowed by the rain of a raging hailstorm. The whole community was alarmed, but the saint was unmoved. He came down from his cell, and in the sight of the terrified fathers, took off his cowl, and with it made the sign of the cross four times towards the four quarters of the heavens, and at once the clouds parted, and the sky was calm, and no sign of the storm remained.

The friars had a small garden at the foot of the mountain, where they had some olive trees and other herbs and plants for the use of the community. The lay brothers in charge of it lived in constant dread of fires, for the shepherds who frequented the mountains with their herds, made fires in the open air in summer, and were very careless. One day a strong wind arose,

scattered their fires, which swept on towards the garden, fed by the stubble and brambles on their way, and threatened the ruin of the garden and the house.

The lay brother ran to the monastery for help. The servant of God said to the friars, 'Let us go into the church and pray before the Most Holy.' They all went in, and after a few minutes the saint took some holy water with him, and stood between the encroaching fire and the garden. The fire raged, and leaping over the head of the saint, seized the fences of the garden. The friars lost sight of him amid the flames, and believed him to have perished. Then they saw him raised in the air some six feet above the ground, as if treading down the fire. He descended gently to the earth, and the fire died out, without leaving any mark of any kind on the saint, not even its smell; and more than that, the fence, though on fire, was not burned, as with the burning bush which Moses saw.

His strength was gone from him, and the wasted body confessed that the spirit within was stronger than itself. And now, when worn out by his unceasing penances, he received an order from the council to go, with twelve others, to the Indies. His brethren in Peñuela, seeing how unreasonable, under the circumstances, such an order was, begged him to represent to the friars who had sent it the ruined state of his health. He would not do it, and said that to

die under obedience would be his joy; and then, as if answering them—for the order was believed to be the result of a wish to remove him from Spain, lest he should defend fra Jerome too well,—added, 'Would you have me not drink the chalice which my Father has sent me?' His brethren could do no more, and he at once wrote to fra John of St. Anne to find the twelve friars who would go with him to the Indies.*

But while fra John was searching for the friars, God Himself laid his hands on His servant, and sent him a burning fever to consume his body, as another fever was consuming his most pure soul. He could not conceal his illness now; and the provincial of upper Andalucia, his old companion in Duruelo, where the order began, fra Antonio of Jesus, having heard of it, wrote to him and begged him to remove to Baeza or to Ubeda, where he could be attended to in his sickness better than in so austere a monastery as that of Peñuela. He also charged the prior of Peñuela to see that his orders were obeyed. The prior and the friars then begged the saint to choose Baeza; they knew he would be taken care of there, for he was the founder of the house, and its then prior was fra Angel of the Presentation, who had a great affection for the servant of God. On the other hand, the prior of Ubeda was known to be otherwise disposed, and to be very un-

* Joseph de Jesus Maria, p. 405.

friendly to the saint; but it is not probable that fra Antonio knew anything of the prior's dislike of the saint. That was enough for St. John of the Cross; as he was allowed to choose, he chose to put himself in the hands of the prior of Ubeda, and asked to be sent thither; and thither he went, but with great difficulty, because of his bodily weakness, on 21st September 1591.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1591.

A great cross—Illness of the saint—Harshness of the prior of Ubeda—Visit of fra Antonio.

WHILE the saint was living in Peñuela, his brethren were preparing another cross for him, which is one of the hardest to bear—the contradiction of good men. His good name and spotless life were made the sport of idle tongues, and one of the members of the council went from monastery to monastery gathering materials in order to bring grave charges against him, hoping for his expulsion from the order which he had helped to found. When he heard of it, he not only made no complaint, but even defended his persecutors, and made what excuses he could for them, saying that he was so unworthy himself that he deserved no better treatment.

The source of this trouble was fra Diego of the Evangelist, who, when he was a friar in Seville, had to bear, and bore ungraciously, the correction which the saint, then his superior, administered to him, for his non-observance of the discipline of Carmel. The servant of God, elected vicar provincial in the chapter

of Pastrana in 1585,* found, in the discharge of his duties, that strict observance, according to the rule, was not kept in the monastery of Seville. In that house were two friars, great preachers, wise and discreet in the estimation of people who could never see them too often in their houses. The friars were certainly men of zeal, and very readily gave themselves up to good works with which they had nothing to do. They were continually busy, absent from choir, refectory, and recreation, scarcely ever in their cells, and the more effectually to do good among people in the world, dressed themselves not quite like the other friars of Carmel of the reform.

St. John of the Cross came to Seville, and understanding his vocation in a sense wholly the reverse of that in which the friars understood it, made use of the powers of his office, and recalled them to the observance of the rule and constitutions. They had to preach fewer or no sermons, for the saint did not think they were the only preachers in Seville; they had also to be present in choir, to take their meals with the community, and to abstain from the flesh-meats which, to avoid inconveniencing others, they charitably ate in the houses of their friends. The discipline was sharp, but it was submitted to, though not with a good will, and the two friars, unhappily, never wholly forgot the author of their humiliation, for so they regarded

* See chapt. xiv.

the saint's recalling them to the observance of the rule.

One of them, fra Diego, was now in the council of the order; and St. John of the Cross, the merciless visitor, who had interfered with his recreations and good works, was a friar without rank or office. The opportunity was too good to be neglected, and fra Diego did not neglect it. He had authority from the vicar, fra Nicolas, to make certain inquisitions into the life and conduct of fra Jerome of the Mother of God, whom his superiors now regarded as disobedient; but he had no authority to make any inquiries touching the life and conduct of St. John of the Cross. Nevertheless he displayed as much zeal in searching out proofs of shortcomings in the saint as he did in searching for proofs against fra Jerome, and by threats and terrors extorted admissions from some of the nuns which they afterwards recalled. In some instances he represented them as having said that which they never even imagined. The publicity with which fra Diego carried on his work caused some of the friars to believe that he had a commission for the purpose, and many of those, formerly friends of the saint, and who had letters of his in their possession—letters of spiritual advice—in their terror burnt them, to the great loss of men; they were afraid they should be molested themselves.

Fra Diego was carried away by passion, and forgetting the holy life of the saint whom he was accusing,

scrupled not to speak against him even in public; so confident was he that he would be able to justify his suspicions. He went so far as to say that he would be sent to the galleys for the wickedness of his life. Most people were shocked by so much malice; but the more timid gave way, afraid of fra Diego. They did not like to resist him, and deluding themselves into the belief that he could not do all that he was doing without good reason, began to fear that the saintly life of the servant of God had been a grand hypocrisy unveiled at last. Others certainly there were who, indignant at the proceedings, blamed even their superiors, and especially fra Nicolas, the vicar, for they could not believe that fra Diego was acting thus publicly without authority from the vicar.

When fra Diego had collected his materials, he sent them in to the council, and then fra Nicolas saw the papers. But the instant he ascertained what they were, he abstained even from reading them, and said that fra Diego had acted without instructions. That was so, no doubt, but it was hoped that the vicar would chastise the friar who had caused so much scandal. Fra Nicolas did not punish him, but he did reserve his fault for the consideration of the next chapter. Into that chapter fra Nicolas never came, for he died before it was assembled, May 9 1594. But even if the chapter had taken the matter into its consideration, it could have done little or nothing,

for the saint was then out of the jurisdiction of the order. God had judged him Himself. The successor of Doria, fra Elias of St. Martin, burned the papers and allowed none to see them. He was also displeased with fra Diego, though not so much so as to put him to penance; nevertheless, he made him see in some measure the evil he had done, for he refused at first to confirm his election as provincial of Granada.

But fra Diego, notwithstanding all this, had friends in the order, and these friends prevailed; the new vicar at last relented, and, to the great terror of the nuns, fra Diego became provincial of Granada. He never exercised his office, for he was taken ill in Alcala la Real on his way to the province, and there died.

Fra Diego had been corrected for his inobservances by the saint, and felt the smarting of the scourge. Unhumbled he retaliated, and probably found others of like mind to encourage him. Fra Nicolas, the vicar, too, was not always well disposed towards the saint, and he was afraid of him and of his influence in the order. But he had a reason for his fear sufficiently strong to justify him; the saint was always defending fra Jerome of the Mother of God, and fra Nicolas imagined that his affection for that father was a real danger to the order, and that laxity might creep in through the influence of fra Jerome the and perfect submissiveness to his superiors of St.

John of the Cross. Besides, fra Nicolas so utterly disapproved of the acts of the venerable Anne of Jesus that he could not help disliking St. John of the Cross, who was her friend, and had encouraged her—so fra Nicolas believed—in the resistance she made to the new form of government brought in by himself. Fra Nicolas certainly was a remarkable person, grand, austere, even if inconsiderate towards others. His life was spent in and for the order, and the very saints of God in this miserable life are not always able to understand one another.

The servant of God was in the midst of the furnace of this persecution when God sent him his last illness in Peñuela. He had concealed his state for a fortnight from all in the house, but at last the swelling of his foot was discovered, and the friars were alarmed, and informed the provincial of the state he was in. Fra Antonio could not then go to Peñuela, but he wrote a consoling letter to the saint, and, as was said before, begged him to leave Peñuela for Baeza or Ubeda. The servant of God, thirsting for the chalice of suffering, chose Ubeda, to the great distress of fra Diego of the Incarnation, for the prior of that house was fra Francis of St. Chrysostom, the learned and popular preacher, whom, together with fra Diego of the Evangelist, the saint had corrected in Seville when he was visitor of Andalucia.

A lay brother, Francis of St. Hilarion, was also

unwell, and the prior of Peñuela wished to send him with the saint to Ubeda. Brother Francis, knowing this, went to St. John of the Cross, and begged him to change his resolution and go to Baeza. The servant of God would not throw away the cross that he felt within his grasp, and therefore would not listen to the brother; but he would not take him into the furnace against his will, so he persuaded the prior to send brother Francis to Baeza; he himself would go to Ubeda.

In a letter to his friend and penitent, doña Ana de Peñalosa, written in Peñuela, September 21 1591, he says: 'I am going to-morrow to Ubeda, to be cured of some slight attacks of fever of which I have been suffering daily for a little more than a week.' Though he made light of the fever, yet he was obliged to write but a short letter, saying, 'The fever will not let me write more;' and in truth the fever was a very serious one.

On the 22nd day of September 1591, the servant of God went away from Peñuela in the charge of a lay brother. It was his last journey, and he could not do it on foot, as he wished, for he was a poor friar unto the end. Every step of the way did but increase his sufferings, and make his disease the more deadly. When they came near the bridge over the Guadalimar, the brother said he might dismount, and rest under the shadow of the bridge, and take something to eat.

'I should be very glad,' replied the saint, 'of a little rest; but as for eating, I can eat nothing.'

'Is there nothing, then,' asked the lay brother, 'that your reverence could eat?'

The saint said that he could eat some asparagus, 'but where to find them at this season of the year?'

At the bridge he dismounted with the help of the lay brother, and having sat down in the shade, he continued his conversation, always marvellous, about God. He was now moved by the beauty of the running water, and the solitude they were in, to speak more wondrously still. While looking at the river, they saw on a jutting stone close by them a bundle of asparagus, tied with twigs. The lay brother was amazed at the sight, and took the asparagus. The servant of God suggested to him, lest he should discern the miracle, that somebody might have left them there; and made him look around to see if there was any one in sight. The brother obeyed, but he saw nobody, and indeed there was nobody to be seen. The saint then consented to his keeping the asparagus, but on the condition of his leaving some money on the stone, by way of compensation to the owner if any should appear. The lay brother did as he was bid, and took the asparagus to Ubeda, where the friars looked at them with wonder.

The saint was very ill on his arrival; and the friars in the house were very glad to see him, but at the

same time greatly distressed at the sight; but the prior was not moved to compassion when he saw him. He had neither forgotten nor forgiven the saint; and he was now the less disposed to serve him, for the order seemed to be weary of him, and a member of the council was seeking proofs of grave charges against him for the purpose of driving him out. Thus the saint came under a cloud to the house of an unfriendly prior, in great bodily suffering, and beyond the reach of all the friends who would have succoured him had they been near at hand.

The journey had made him much worse, and the next day there were no less than five running sores on his foot. The surgeon, Martin de Villaroel, saw no way of relief but in cutting the flesh, which he did, and thereby laid bare the very bones within. The saint seemed to suffer no pain, and the bystanders observed no sign of suffering. When the surgeon had done, the saint asked him when he was going to begin. The surgeon, in astonishment, replied that he had finished. The saint had been in an ecstasy during the operation, and now, even when awake, he felt no pain, and did not even know what the surgeon had done. So he said to him that he was ready to suffer if more suffering were in store for him.

The pain of his disease seems to have grown more and more, yet he never spoke but to give thanks unto God. For every little help given him by the infirma-

rian he was always grateful, begging his forgiveness for the trouble he gave him; but when the pain was more severe than usual, he would say, 'This is my rest for ever;' as if praying God never to let him be at ease again in this world, so great was his thirst for suffering. Those who saw him at first did not know how much he suffered, for he hid from them the knowledge of his state. But one day fra Bartholomew of St. Basil discovered accidentally what nobody had suspected. He had lifted him from the bed whereon he was lying, and had laid him on a mattress that he might rearrange it. Having made the bed ready, he went to the saint, and as he was stooping down to lift him up, the servant of God, hardly able to move, begged him to let him get into bed as well as he could by himself. Fra Bartholomew yielded, but he asked the saint why he thus mortified him by refusing his help when it was so needful. The saint told him that he could not bear being touched, and then fra Bartholomew found a huge abscess between the shoulders, which being cut the next day, discharged matter in great abundance.

The surgeon wondered at the patience of the saint, for he did not think that man could bear such sufferings and live; the servant of God made light of them, partly to hide them from others, and partly because he thirsted for more, and his holy conversation with the surgeon bore good fruit, for he became another man from that time forth.

The prior of the house, blinded by his passion, refused even the ordinary succours to the saint. He would go to see him from time to time, but not to comfort him; nor did he conceal from him that he had not yet forgiven him the correction ministered in Seville. Besides, when any charitable person sent anything to the monastery for the use of the saint, the prior would send it back, saying that nothing was wanting, and then would tell the saint what he had done, for the purpose of increasing his distress. At another time he would accept the gifts sent in, and tell him that he had done so, but even on such occasions none of them were even offered to the servant of God; the prior refused him all but the ordinary food of the house.

Not satisfied with mortifying the saint, as he thought, in this way, he laboured also to make his brethren think ill of him. He would speak of him as one who consulted his own interests and sought his own comforts, as an enemy to strict observance and given to laxity; though he knew that during his whole illness the servant of God never asked for anything, and never complained of the absence of all things; the infirmarian had to watch him carefully in order to discover, if possible, what he might be at any time in need of. Some pious ladies, when they heard of his painful illness, undertook to wash the linen used in dressing his sores, for the monastery could not do

it so well. This act of charity became known to the prior, and was instantly forbidden; he would not allow such excessive indulgence; it was against the poverty of the order. The friars were greatly hurt at this unnecessary strictness, and, on the urgent representations of some of them, the prior consented to leave that matter alone.

The friars had been strictly forbidden by the prior to visit the saint in his sickness without his leave, and that leave he refused absolutely to all whom he thought the saint would be glad to see. The prior of Peñuela came to Ubeda to see the saint, and was greatly distressed at the treatment he was undergoing. He knew that it was an act of great forbearance on the part of the saint that the harsh prior had not been more severely punished in Seville for his careless life. And now the prior was returning evil for good to one of the chief pillars of the reform. So completely satisfied was the prior with himself, that he actually complained to the prior of Peñuela of the difficulties he had in providing for his friars, because so much had to be done for St. John of the Cross. The prior of Peñuela was surprised and vexed at so much heartlessness, and undertook at once, out of his own poverty, to send provisions from his own house for the friars who were supposed to be ill-fed, while the saint was neglected in the infirmary.

At last the prior of Ubeda, to harass the saint still

further, removed the infirmarian from his office, and charged him to do nothing more for the service of the sick. Fra Bernardo obeyed, as he was bound to do, but he found means to send a message to fra Antonio, the provincial, the old companion of the saint, and to let him know how the first friar who put on the habit of the reform was treated in the monastery of Ubeda.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1591.

Fra Antonio visits the saint—The prior relents—Doña Clara de Benavides—Iñes and Catherine de Salazar.

FRA ANTONIO OF JESUS, when he received the message of fra Bernardo, came in all haste to Ubeda, greatly displeased with the prior, and full of sorrow on account of the servant of God. He reprimanded the prior with great severity, and went to the infirmary to console the suffering saint. He saw there a sight which moved him profoundly, and which he wished all the world to see as well as himself. The door of the infirmary, by his orders, was thrown open, and all the friars were bidden to enter that they might see their brother. He then told the prior that they ought to open even the gates of the monastery, so that all the world might come in and see a saint. Fra Antonio knew the treasure which the house possessed, though the prior could not. He charged the infirmarian to see that all the wants of the servant of God were supplied, and to supply them even if the prior should fall back again into his former hardness of heart; he, fra Antonio, would find means to defray all the charges, whatever they might be.

Fra Antonio, having remained about four of five days in the monastery, went his way. But his visit wrought a change in the prior which was felt throughout the community. The friars had been always uneasy and discontented under his government, for they suffered from his overbearing temper and inexperience in authority. Now, after the reprimand of the provincial, he entered into himself, and resolved on leading a life of greater circumspection. He went to the infirmary, and there, with tears in his eyes, begged the saint's forgiveness, and finally his counsel in the direction of the house. He seemed a changed man, inwardly as well as outwardly; and truly sorry for his past neglect, treated the servant of God with great reverence, and indeed, after his death, he carried relics of him for a time about his person. But he did not persevere; the old habit of going about the country preaching, and the old zeal for good works which were not his own, reasserted their ancient sway, and the poor prior forgot his repentance.

He obtained privileges and dispensations, gave himself up to good works outside his monastery, and to which he was not called, because he was called to Carmel, and in the end the unhappy man died far away from any of his brethren, and was thus deprived of the help which they might have given him in the hour of his greatest danger.

Now that the prior himself treated the saint with

some consideration, the infirmarian asked to be allowed to have some music in another room, where the servant of God could hear it, and thereby forget for a while the great pain he was suffering. The servant of God, however, would not consent to any such devices; he would suffer thankfully as God willed it, and seek no means of relief till it pleased God Himself to send them. The infirmarian, nevertheless, repeated his request, and received the same answer, but on his making it a third time, the saint, to please him, consented. The musicians were brought in, and when they had played for some time the infirmarian went in to the saint and asked him how he liked the music. The servant of God said he had not heard it, and it appeared that he had been in a trance the whole time, occupied with God in prayer, and his ears closed to all earthly sounds. He begged that the musicians might not be further troubled; he was very grateful to them for their kindness, and to the father who had brought them into the house. He would not mix, he said, the consolations of earth with the consolations of heaven, and then added, in the words of the Psalmist: 'I shall be filled, when Thy glory shall appear.'

He was no longer cut off from his brethren, for they were allowed to visit him in his sickness ever since the visit of the provincial. The friars that went to see him were filled with wonder at his serenity; his

whole body was now covered with sores, and they would say one to another that he was another Job on a dunghill, and wanted nothing but a shell to scrape the corruption. One day the saint, answering their thoughts, spoke of the sufferings of Job, who, 'with a shell, scraped the corruption, sitting on a dunghill.' When he had uttered these words, he turned to the fathers who were present and said, 'Ah, that was suffering indeed! But I am lying on a good bed, not on a dunghill, and, instead of a shell, they give me clean linen to cleanse my sores. My sufferings are nothing; our Lord has laid His hand lightly upon me—yea, rather one of His fingers, and He has but gently and leniently touched me.' To him his sufferings were a joy, and he not only accepted them as great graces from our Lord, but had been praying for them nearly all his life.

The sores in his body discharged matter continually, and in most strange abundance, but there was nothing offensive in it; none were ever conscious of any unpleasant odours, while many perceived the most delicious fragrance arise from the vessels and the linen that, in any other case, would have been loathsome.

One of the principal ladies in the place, doña Clara de Benavides, wife of don Bartholomew de Ortega, heard of the illness of the saint, and of his wonderful patience in his trials. She had never seen

him—perhaps had not even heard of him before the medical men told her of his sufferings. Doña Clara, though her own husband, whom she loved exceedingly, was ill at the time, wished to be of service to the saint, and asked her husband's permission to send him some provisions out of their house. Don Bartholomew, who was a good Christian, instantly consented, and doña Clara sent food to the monastery. In a day or two the saint found out that the food could not have been dressed by the brothers in the kitchen of the house; so, when it was brought to him, he would not take it. His death, he said to the prior, for want of food would be a less evil to the order than the laxity that might creep in if he consented to so great a comfort as having his food dressed outside the monastery. Doña Clara, on being told of his resolution, submitted; but she sent to the monastery, nevertheless, everything that could be wanted, trusting in the skill of the cook to dress it so that the servant of God might be able, in his great weakness, to eat it. She sent also lint and cloths for the service of the dying saint.

Doña Clara at the same time had troubles of her own; her husband, don Bartholomew was ill, and his illness at another time would have been a great grief to her. Now, when occupied with the care of a poor friar whom she had never seen, she scarcely knew what that trouble was. The very servants in the

house were glad to do anything for the saint, and were sorry when their labours were lessened. Afterwards, in calling to mind the events of those weeks, they remembered that whenever anything was wanted for the dying saint, they found it at once; but when anything was wanted for don Bartholomew, their master, it was found with great difficulty, in spite of their zeal in his service, and their good will.

Doña Clara was near her confinement; and on hearing that the saint was so grateful for her charitable services, of which she herself made little account, sent to beg him to pray for her in her coming illness. She dreaded it very much, and her heart grew sad as the time drew near. The servant of God went to his prayer and then sent her word to cast away all her fears, for her pains would be few, and her child would be admitted to the vision of God. The words of the saint were fulfilled after his death. Doña Clara's illness was light, and within a year the little girl whom she had brought into the world left it for her everlasting home.

Two pious ladies in the neighbourhood, having heard of the saint's distressing illness, and knowing that the monastery could scarcely provide for him in one way, offered to take all the soiled linen and cloths to their own house and wash them. Their offer was accepted—for the prior was now a changed man—and accordingly all the linen necessary for the service of

the saint was taken from time to time to the house of these ladies, Ines and Catherine de Salazar. They were delicate women, and not accustomed to what they saw when the linen was brought to them from the monastery. The cloths were saturated with corruption, and in some of them were even pieces of flesh. The two ladies, instead of the natural odours on such occasion, and contrary to their expectations, perceived a perfume of most wondrous fragrance; they were filled themselves with a strange joy, for which they could not account, and thus a labour which they knew beforehand must be at least irksome, became to them the most agreeable occupation of their time.

One day Ines de Salazar not only missed the accustomed fragrance, but perceived a most unpleasant and offensive smell, which made her ill. She was unable to do her work, and went to her mother, Mary de Molina, and told her that either St. John of the Cross must be dying or the friars had sent cloths used by some other person. Soon after a lay brother came to the house, who, on being asked if the bandages used by any other father had been sent with those of the saint, confessed that the friars had sent some which were for the service of fra Matthew of the Blessed Sacrament, who had a sore on one of his shoulders. These the sisters separated without difficulty from those of the saint, which still sent forth the fragrance of flowers, as before.

The two sisters nearly quarrelled over their work, each wished to have it all to herself; but their mother interfered, and made them take it in turns, if they could not help one another. Doña Clara, too, and her servants wished to share the labours of the two sisters, if they could not have it all to themselves, and made an attempt to carry the cloths to the house of Don Bartholomew. The two sisters resolutely refused to share their labours with any one, and maintained their right, pleading possession. The matter was laid before the saint himself, and Doña Clara eagerly pressed her claim. The saint sent her word that he was pleased with the way in which the two sisters served him, and he hoped that Doña Clara would be content with all the troubles she had already had, and not add to them. Doña Clara yielded at once, and the two sisters remained in possession.

CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1591.

The approach of death—The saint's humility—Fra Antonio's visit—The last sacraments—Death.

THE saint was now nearly worn out and wasted away; God had heard his prayer, and had thrown him into the furnace to try him. There he lay from the end of September, and it was now the 7th day of December, Saturday, the eve of the Immaculate Conception, 1591. The surgeon in attendance on that day told him that he had but few days to live. The saint answered with a joyful face, in the words of the Psalmist, *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus*,—'I have been made glad by what they have said to me; we shall go into the house of our Lord.' He then, after a momentary pause, added, 'Since I have heard these good tidings, I feel no pain whatever.' The surgeon thought the end so near that he advised the friars to give him the last Sacraments without delay; but the saint, when they repeated this to him, asked them to wait a few days; he would warn them in time. A messenger was sent at once to the provincial, fra Antonio, who, with the saint, had begun the reform in Duruelo; and the old man came,

in obedience to the summons, but he did not reach Ubeda before the afternoon of Friday.

In the beginning of the following week the dying saint asked the friars what day it was; and a little later, how long it was to Saturday. He saw that they had guessed his meaning, and to turn their attention away, he added that he was thinking how, on that day, our Lady helped her religious in a special way. But his explanation had no effect on the minds of his brethren, for they believed then, and their belief was afterwards strengthened, that our Blessed Lady, whom he had so constantly served, had made known to him that he would die on Saturday within the octave of her great feast.

On the Thursday morning he asked fra Bartholomew of St. Basil, who was continually with him during the latter part of his illness, to take a small bag that was under his pillow, and burn the papers that were in it. These were letters he had received from his friends; and he would not leave them behind, lest they should be troubled on his account. The saint was dying under a cloud in the order he had almost founded, the first novices of which he had trained; for the inquisition made by fra Diego of the Evangelist, without authority, into his life and conduct was still fresh in the minds of his brethren, and none of them knew how much or how little Doria the vicar was concerned in it.

When the papers had been all destroyed, he asked for the *Viaticum;* and in the evening, at the hour in which our Lord instituted the Holy Mass, the friars brought Him to His servant, who, before he received Him, begged his brethren to forgive the bad example he had given; and then, not seeing the prior among them, sent him a message, begging him, for the love of God, to come to him. The prior came, and the saint whom he had wronged asked his forgiveness, and begged him also to overlook all his faults. He was sorry, he said, for the trouble he had given, and for the expense to which he had put the house; but he would do all he could to make compensation, and prayed our Lord to repay them after his death. His prayer was the prayer of the just, for the house prospered, and soon became one of the best in the province. Indeed, the saint had before this told the sub-prior that the house would prosper, and it was then believed in the monastery that the servant of God had received from our Lord an assurance that his prayer would be heard.

The prior's heart now melted within him, and his tears flowed, at the remembrance of his harsh treatment of the servant of God, and of the patient endurance with which that treatment was borne. The saint begged one further grace of him, namely, a habit to be buried in—that was all he asked; he possessed nothing himself. So when the friars asked

him to distribute among them those things which might be said to belong to him, such as his Breviary, his rosary, and his habit—they wished to have something of his in their possession as relics—he answered them simply, 'I am poor, and have nothing of my own; everything about me belongs to the superior; ask him.' He remembered his vow even when dying, for he had faithfully kept it all his life.

On Friday, Dec. 13, the feast of St. Lucy, he asked them who were with him what day of the week it was. They told him Friday; he never asked again the name of the day, but only from time to time what hour it was. At one in the afternoon, when they told him in answer to his question what hour it was, he said, 'I asked because, glory be to God, I have to chant Matins in heaven to-night.' He now became more deeply recollected, and was from time to time in a trance; his eyes were generally closed, that he might be the more intent upon heavenly things. Now and then, however, he opened them, only to look most lovingly on the crucifix before him.

That Friday was spent on the cross with our Lord, for the servant of God entered into the night of spiritual desolation; in addition to his great bodily pain his soul was filled with darkness. He lay on his poor bed, the very poorest of men, utterly detached from all things, and cleaving only to God, Who visited him in His love, and wounding him anew, left him

alone in the most terrible abandonment, beyond the reach of all possible consolation. On that day the provincial, father Antonio of Jesus, arrived, and went at once to see him. St. John of the Cross was very glad to see him, but he could not speak, because of the pain he was in, both in soul and body. At last, lest the provincial should be distressed, he turned to him and begged him to forgive his silence, which was caused by the great severity of his sufferings. Fra Antonio then tried to console him, and spoke of his labours in the order, and of the great reward he was about to receive. Thereupon the saint stopped his ears with his feeble hands, and cried; 'O, my father, do not speak of that; speak rather of my many and grievous sins; I think only of them and of the merits of my Redeemer.' A little later fra Augustin of St. Joseph came in to console him, and when he had said that he would soon be rewarded for what he had done, the saint cried out as before in great distress, 'O, my father, do not speak of that; for there is nothing that I ever did that is not a source of shame to me at this moment.'

About five o'clock in the evening he asked for the last anointing, during the ministration of the Sacrament he made all the responses himself. Some time afterwards he asked them what hour it was, and on being told it was nine o'clock, he said, 'Ah, I have three hours to wait;' and then, in a voice of most

touching humility, he repeated the words of the Psalmist, *Incolatus meus prolongatus est.* He remained silent now, but hearing a bell ringing at ten o'clock, he asked what it was; they told him that it was the bell of a neighbouring monastery of the nuns ringing for Matins; he answered, 'I too, by the goodness of God, shall sing them with our Lady in heaven.' And then addressing himself to her, said: 'I thank thee, O my Lady and my Queen, because it pleases thee to let me quit this world on Saturday, thine own day.'

Soon after this he seemed so weak and faint that the friar who was with him, thinking the last moment had been reached, was about to ring the bell to summon the community. The saint, knowing his purpose, called him back, and said there was no reason for disturbing the house at that time; he would give him due warning. Then at eleven o'clock he sat up in his bed, and said, 'Blessed be God, how well I am!' He seemed to be in perfect health of body, and asked them to sing the praises of God with him. He was exultingly joyous, and those who were present—there were even seculars watching with the religious—formed themselves into a choir. The saint began the *Miserere*, and they answered; this done, they recited other psalms in the same way; the saint from time to time kissing the crucifix which he held in his hands.

At half-past eleven he said it was time to call the community; the bell was rung, and the friars came in with the provincial, his old friend and companion, Father Antonio of Jesus. The old man of fourscore years and more fell on his knees, and for himself and the whole community, also on its knees, begged him, their father, to bless them before he went, and to remember them when he should see the face of God. The saint said he should never forget them, but as for blessing them he could not do it—that belonged to the father of them all, the provincial there present. But the friars asked him again, and then the provincial commanded the dying saint, as his subject, to satisfy his and their desires. He then, obedient to the end, lifted up his hand and made the sign of the cross, the whole assembly weeping tears at once of sorrow and of joy.

Fra Alonso of the Mother of God began now to make the recommendation of his soul, and when he had gone on for a little while, the saint turned towards him and said, 'Go on, pray for me to God, for I must needs rest awhile.' He then pressed the crucifix with his hands, and closed his eyes in prayer. In a few minutes he asked them to read the Canticle for him; the prior took the book, and as he read, the dying saint would murmur from time to time, 'O what pearls!' A little before twelve o'clock he gave

the crucifix to a secular much attached to him to hold for a moment. He then put both his hands underneath the bedclothes, and arranged his habit, then having put all in order, he held out his hand for the crucifix. He who held it gave it, and in doing so kissed the hand of the saint. The servant of God looked at him and said, 'Ah, you should not have had it if I had known it would cost me so much.'

It was now close upon midnight, and among the friars around him he saw fra Francis, whose duty it was to ring the bell for Matins. Mindful of regular observance to the last, he said to him, 'Go and ring the bell for Matins.' A great orb of light was now seen by those who were present, encircling the dying saint, the light of which was so brilliant as to dim the other lights in the room, and the candles on the altar. In a minute or two afterwards, waking up as if from a deep sleep, he asked what the bell was ringing for; they answered, 'For Matins;' he looked at them and smiled, as if taking leave of them, and said, 'I am going to sing them in Paradise.'

He then kissed the crucifix, and with closed eyes, saying, '*In manus Tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*,' passed away as a child falling asleep in its mother's arms. There was no agony nor struggle, nor the semblance of pain. God took him gently to Himself, on Saturday morning, Dec. 14 1591, in the

fiftieth year of his age. He had been twenty-eight years in religion, five of which he spent in the old observance, and twenty-three in the reform of St. Teresa.

CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1591—1596.

The funeral—Sermon—Incorruption of the body—removal of it to Madrid and Segovia—contest for the possession of it—Canonization.

THE religious and the seculars present in the infirmary, when they saw that the saint was dead, fell upon him with one consent, and having kissed his hands and feet, began to rob him of the habit he wore and of the linen rags that served to cover his sores. They took away from his head, which was almost bald, the little hair spared by the tonsure. Even the rope that hung from the ceiling, by which he used to move himself in his bed, was taken down, and seized upon with eagerness as relics and memorials of a saint. The prior saved the leathern girdle from the common destruction, and afterwards gave it to doña Clara. To her husband, don Bartholomew de Ortega, he gave the Breviary which the saint had used in his lifetime.

While the friars were thus occupied, the death of the saint became known in divers places. Doña Clara, asleep in her bed, awoke suddenly, and rousing her husband, said to him that St. John of the Cross was dead. She did not see him, she confessed, but she was sure that he had been that minute in the room.

Don Bartholomew made light of it, and attributed it all to her imagination; but at that moment the bell of the monastery broke the silence of the night, and don Bartholomew believed what his wife had said. The tolling of the bell aroused the whole town; the instant the people heard it, they knew that it announced to them the departure of the saint. They hurried to the monastery, and clamoured to be let in. As the night was cold and the rain was falling, the friars had pity on the men, and had great difficulty in hindering the women also from entering within the enclosure. Those who went in begged to be allowed to see the body of the saint, and on being allowed to do so, followed in the footsteps of the friars, and began to rob him of the little which the friars had left him, that they might possess something that had once touched that temple of the Holy Ghost.

Early in the morning the monastery was filled again, and the body of the saint was brought down into the church for burial. The people fell on their knees, kissed the feet, and then touched the body with their rosaries. Some cried out that they had had a great saint among them and that they knew him not, and then bewailing their loss, for he was gone before they knew him. Father Sotomayor, the Dominican, came in, and fell on his knees before the saint. He was one of those who had seen his face shining in Baeza, and the vision was the beginning of his conversion. When

he had knelt down he fell as one dead over the body; the friars removed him as quickly as they could, and when they saw he had recovered himself, asked him why he had fainted away. He told them that he had made up his mind to cut off one of the fingers, and that, on his laying hold of it, the saint had drawn it back out of his hand, as if he had been still living.

The whole neighbourhood was stirred, and the church filled from end to end. Clergy, secular and regular, noblemen, and persons of less honour in the world, came together uninvited to see and venerate the body of the poorest man in all Spain. Mass was sung, and a grave and learned priest, the Dr. Bezerra, preached a sermon, at the close of which he said: 'I do not ask you, as the custom is, to pray to God for the soul of the departed, for he who is gone from us is a saint, and his soul is in Paradise; but what I ask is this: I ask you to follow in his footsteps, and I ask him to obtain for us from God the grace to do so.' Then, when the body had to be borne to the grave, there arose an eager contest among the religious present for the honour of carrying it to its place of rest within the church.

The people crowded daily into the church to pray to the saint, for they had no doubts about him; but they would not tread on that part of the pavement underneath which the body of the saint was lying. The friars, his brethren, were less reverent, and on the

Monday night following the funeral, when about to take the discipline as usual, and when the lights had been either put out or made dim, they were suddenly surprised by a great light which filled the whole church. Some thought that all the lights had not been put out, and the prior gave orders in that sense; but those who were near the grave were seized with a holy fear, for they saw that it had come from the tomb of the saint, whose sepulchre it pleased our Lord to make thus glorious before their eyes. In a few minutes the light disappeared, and the friars underwent the discipline as usual in the dark.

At the end of nine months the grave was opened, and the body of the saint was found incorrupt. Doña Ana de Peñalosa and her brother, don Luis de Mercado, auditor of the Royal council, and now a priest, both living in Madrid, obtained an order from the vicar, fra Nicolas of Jesus Maria, for its removal from Ubeda to Segovia. Doña Ana had a great devotion to the servant of God, and, as the foundress of the monastery in Segovia, wished to have the body of the saint placed there, in the house she had founded under his direction. Doña Ana and her brother waited, however, for nine months before they attempted to remove it, and then sent to Ubeda one of the king's serjeants with orders to bring thence the remains, for by that time they thought that the flesh had wasted away.

Francis de Medina Zavallos, having received his

instructions, went to Ubeda, and having seen the prior, fra Francis of St. Chrysostom, told him the reason of his coming, and produced the order of the vicar, who on his part enjoined obedience and absolute silence on the part of the prior. It was then settled that the latter should admit Zavallos into the church at eleven o'clock at night, unknown to the community; and that two lay brothers should open the grave and raise the body. So it was done. When they had removed the stone they perceived a most fragrant perfume, and when they reached the body, they found it to their surprise, and to the disappointment of Zavallos, perfectly fresh and supple; there was no trace of corruption in it. It was impossible to take it away; and, indeed, the order was for the removal of the bones. The prior and Zavallos, in their difficulty, forgot themselves and opened the body, took out the entrails, and then putting quicklime—which they found within the monastery, for there were workmen daily there employed in building the church—both within the body and around it, replaced the sacred relics in the grave they had so uselessly disturbed. But before it was put back, the prior, at the request of Zavallos, cut off one of the three fingers of the right hand, which held the pen when the saint was writing, that he might give it to doña Ana as a proof of the story he had to tell. The hand was full of blood, and the blood flowed as freely as from the hand of a living man.

Doña Ana and her brother waited nine months more, and Zavallos was sent again to Ubeda. The grave was opened, and the body was found nearly as they left it; the lime had indeed dried it, but had not consumed the flesh. While they were opening the grave, fra Bartholomew of St. Basil was roused from his sleep and heard distinctly the words, 'If thou hast a mind to see the holy body of John of the Cross, arise, for they are about to take it away.' Fra Bartholomew hurried down to the church, but the prior met him at the door, and ordered him not only to return to his cell, but to say nothing of what he might have heard or seen. Zavallos took the body away in a cloak bag, and the better to escape pursuit, should the people of Ubeda discover the theft, went out of his road; near Martos he and his fellows were suddenly confronted by a man, who cried out, 'Whither are you going with the body of the saint? Let it remain where it was.' Zavallos and his companions nevertheless passed on—not however without anxiety, for people asked them wherever they halted what it was they had with them, the perfume of the body was so wonderful and agreeable—and having reached Madrid with their precious burden, gave it to the safe keeping of the Carmelite nuns. There doña Ana had one of the arms cut off for a relic, and afterwards, having scruples about keeping it, sent it, as she thought at the time, to Segovia, but in reality to the monastery of the nuns in Medina del Campo.

In the monastery of the nuns in Madrid, the body was treated with more reverence than had been shown it in Ubeda; it was put in a coffin, covered with flowers and branches of laurel, that it might be sent the more reverently to Segovia. Those who were charged with the duty of carrying it to Madrid had been charged by the superiors of the order to keep the secret and avoid all publicity, so that there should be no gathering of people when the sacred relics should reach Segovia. This became impossible, for before they arrived near the city the secret was revealed; people were attracted by the wondrous fragrance; and though the persons in charge of the body went to the monastery without going through the city, they were followed by a great multitude of men and women.

The friars of Segovia received the body with all honour and reverence, removed the lime which the prior of Ubeda had applied to it, and much of which still cleaved to it. When they had cleansed the holy body, they vested it in the habit of the order and placed it in a fitting coffin. The prior had it then laid up reverently in the sacristy, and to avoid all confusion and indiscreet worship of a saint not yet canonised, ordered the doors of the church to be closed.

But the moment it became known that the church was to be shut, the whole city flocked tumultuously

to the doors of the monastery, knocking thereat and shouting; the crowd insisted on being admitted into the church and on being allowed to see the body of the saint who had lived among them and done wonders in their midst.

Then the bishop himself, with many of the dignitaries and canons of the cathedral church, the chief magistrates of the city, and many noblemen, came to the monastery and demanded instant admission. The prior, who had hitherto resisted the multitude, was forced to yield now; ecclesiastics and laymen poured in, and the body of the saint was brought from the sacristy into the church. Some of the friars had to stand continually near it, and others near the rails, to keep back the crowd. Rosaries and handkerchiefs were given to the friars that they might touch the body with them, and these the people treasured as precious things. The throng that gathered before the church was also so great as to make the street impassable. This continued for eight days, when at last the council of the order and the vicar of the province commanded the prior to restrain the zeal of the people, and to refuse them even the sight of the body; it being unlawful to venerate as a saint whom the Sovereign Pontiff had not canonised.

The prior obeyed, but the people flocked into the church, and in spite of the resistance of the friars

broke into the chancel and demanded the body of the saint. The prior could not grant them their demands, but he took an old habit left behind in the monastery, once worn by the servant of God, and having torn it into shreds, divided it among them to keep them quiet.

When Francis de Yepes heard that the body of his brother had been brought to Segovia, he went thither in the hope of seeing it: but the friars would not satisfy his desires because of the orders of the vicar and his council. He then went to Madrid and saw doña Ana. She had now conceived some scruples about retaining the arm in her possession; so she gave a piece of the flesh to Francis, and asked him to carry the arm to Segovia, that it might be laid up in the same place with the body from which it had been taken. Francis, having placed the flesh in a glass, took the arm to Segovia, and his journey was one of wonders. The prior of Segovia did not receive him very kindly, and refused him the sight of his brother's body; so Francis took the arm to Medina and gave it to the Carmelite nuns who had been so generous to his and the saint's mother. Francis carried about his person the glass in which he had placed the flesh, and soon afterwards, when in great distress of mind, longing to see his brother, he gazed at the flesh, and to his amazement saw, as if painted on it, the very likeness of the saint, not

once, but ever afterwards. Our Lady also appeared in the same way, with the infant in her arms; and this was seen not only by Francis de Yepes, but by many others. Some, however, who gazed at the relic saw nothing; for the vision was not granted to all. Some saw our Lord on the cross, others a dove; some saw the saint himself on his knees before the crucifix. There were others who saw angels; some saw St. Peter, others Elias the prophet; some saw St. Teresa, others St. Francis; and others again saw St. Francis Xavier; but amid these great diversities no one saw anything that was not holy or divine. Some again saw at one hour and not at another; some saw always the same vision, and to others the vision was changed. All were always impressed, and numerous miracles were wrought. Once a Mahometan woman, then a slave in Spain, who had obstinately refused to become a Christian, was shown the relic. She looked at it out of pure curiosity, and then cried out, 'O, beautiful Lady, beautiful Boy.' She was touched by divine grace, was converted and baptised.

The people of Ubeda, when they discovered that the body of the saint had been taken away, were moved to great indignation, for they felt that a great wrong had been done to them. The council of the city resolved to apply to the Pope for redress, and immediately deputies were sent to Rome to ask his

Holiness to order the restitution of the body. The people of Segovia also sent deputies when they heard what the city of Ubeda had done; and doña Ana de Peñelosa and her brother don Luis exerted themselves to the utmost to show that Segovia had better claims than Ubeda. The dispute was carried before his Holiness Clement VIII., for it was now a suit at law; and the Pontiff, after the case had been pleaded, decided that the body should be restored to Ubeda. The decision was recorded in a brief dated September 15, 1596.*

When the Pope had decided the question between the two claimants for the body of the saint, he sent for the deputy of Ubeda, and demanded of him the history of the poor friar, of whom he had never heard, and the reasons of the dispute, which had somewhat surprised the Pope. Don Pedro de Molina, the proctor of Ubeda, gave the required explanation. Thereupon the Pope bade him tell his brother don Lope de Molina, treasurer of the church of Ubeda, one of the commissioners appointed to execute the Papal sentence, that he must go to Segovia, and say that he came on the part of the Pope, and in the evening go to the prior of Carmelites, and say to him that he had matters to communicate to him in the church, which he must keep secret under pain of excom-

* Fra Jerome of St. Joseph says the brief was given October 15th. But it is probable that he referred to the executory brief, and that the other historians speak of the sentence itself.

munication. The Pope wished to save trouble and disorder, and therefore ordered the sentence to be executed as privately as possible.

These precautions became unnecessary, for the general of the Carmelites, at the urgent request of the people of Segovia, persuaded the inhabitants of Ubeda to forego their strict rights.

The executors of the Papal Brief were also willing to sanction any arrangement of the dispute, whereby peace might be restored and preserved, and at last Ubeda, though victorious in the lawsuit in Rome, consented to accept a part of the whole. One foot of the saint had been left there, for the prior had retained it; and now the other and one arm were to be given also. The other arm doña Ana had taken when the body was in Madrid, and at this time was in the care and keeping of the Carmelites of Medina del Campo. There remained therefore in Segovia the head with the trunk. Thus the body was divided; and in both places chapels were built for the preservation of the sacred relics.

He was beatified in 1674, by Clement X., and canonised by Benedict XIII., December 27, 1726.

IN MEMORIA ÆTERNA ERIT JUSTUS;
AB AUDITIONE MALA NON TIMEBIT.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

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,,	50	,,	6—for Alonzo read Alvaro.
,,	62	,,	5—for nutured read nurtured.
,,	100	,,	16—for began read begun.
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